

CARMEN DE BURGOS:
PIECING A PROFESSION, REWRITING WOMEN'S ROLES

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Carmen de Burgos's prolific writings traversed genres and genders: the author of numerous novellas with a potential male and female readership, Burgos also wrote manuals to instruct women in domestic matters. That very heterogeneity has caused her corpus to be considered a site of contradiction. Burgos was an early feminist who constructed a modern paradigm for her life, yet her practical manuals apparently support women's restriction to a domestic role. Her fictional protagonists, in contrast, rarely enjoy the idealized family and domestic environment that subtend the practical manuals. Neither do they occupy the public space which Burgos maintained for herself. As a result, modern critics have described her feminism as ambiguous.

This dissertation discredits that characterization, explaining Burgos's pragmatic choice, particularly evident in the nonfiction, to structure a niche from which to address women readers. Chapter 2 discusses Burgos's efforts to define her authorship, arguing that her writing must be appraised in the context of her doubly marginal position as a female author in a culture which defined women by domesticity and in a profession governed by masculine norms.

My analysis of Burgos's practical manuals shows that they occupy a less important role in her corpus than has been affirmed. Chapter 3 explores paratextual writings which reveal Burgos's awareness of criticism of her authorship of domestic texts. She defends that work as a reasonable response to the writing options available to her.

In Chapter 4, explicating the construction of a practical manual, I posit a correlation between Burgos's narrative strategy, the pressure on her to produce, and her possible wish to avoid direct refutation of domestic ideology. The *centón* thus created is analogous to the quilt Showalter sees as descriptive of American women authors with journalistic backgrounds.

Three novellas (El tesoro del castillo, El honor de la familia, and La Flor de la Playa) are scrutinized in Chapter 5. When considered as a group, the protagonists, like Burgos herself, enact a trajectory in search of a propitious environment. I conclude that the domestic situations

represented, unlike those suggested by the practical manuals, manifest conflict between circumscription and fulfillment, between the traditional and the modern.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The writing career of Carmen de Burgos, who also used the name "Colombine," was unique in early twentieth-century Spain. She produced a vast and diverse body of work, writing and speaking on a variety of topics from child care to divorce and from sewing to the rights of modern women. Her corpus comprises translations, columns written for several newspapers, books on her travel experiences, speeches about women's rights, approximately twenty-seven instructional manuals for women in practical domestic matters, about seventy-five novellas, nine novels, and a feminist treatise titled La mujer moderna y sus derechos.¹

Burgos had few models to imitate in constructing a writing career which would sustain her economically, especially when such writing would include fiction. Unlike Emilia Pardo Bazán, she did not enjoy the family prestige

¹ The repetition of titles which occurs in Burgos's work makes it difficult to quantify. Occasionally, the same novella appears in two different series with different titles. Such is the case with Frasca la tonta, published in 1914 by El Libro Popular, which then appeared as Venganza in La Novela Corta in 1918. In some cases, bibliographies have listed a work as a novel when it is really an anthology of novellas.

Unlike the novellas, the practical manuals are undated. In addition, there is a repetitiveness of titles which makes it difficult to sort them out. This dissertation will address that issue at length in Chapter 2.

and wealth inhering to the title of Condesa. Neither did Burgos choose, as had María del Pilar Sinués de Marco, to sustain the dominant domestic ideology by advocating women's role as "angel of the hearth."² While the majority of women writing at the time were limited to the women's press, Burgos became the first woman who did "'el mismo trabajo, de redacción y de calle, que los hombres'" (qtd. in Starcevic, Defensora 34). Furthermore, she became known as a prolific author of the *novela breve* for the popular series which flourished in the first third of the twentieth century.

Burgos's accomplishments are particularly remarkable insofar as her convictions about women went against the grain in the Spain of her era. Women were considered suited only for a domestic role; indeed, many voices suggested that they were incapable of work requiring rational thought.³ The family (consisting of a husband, a wife, and children) was considered the foundation of the state. Thus, any change in women's domestic function was regarded as a threat to political and social stability. Burgos had advocated the legalization of divorce in the press early in her career; moreover, it was known in some circles that her support for

² Sinués de Marcos concealed the unsatisfactory nature of her own marriage and championed women's obligation to endure marital misfortune. Her 1859 book, El ángel del hogar, was followed by a journal with the same title which was published from 1864 to 1869. (Jagoe 474).

³ Mary Nash's articles, included in the Works Cited, have established the importance of the domestic ideology in early twentieth-century Spain.

that issue was associated with her decision to leave her husband. As a result, her writing as well as her personal life could be considered threatening to the status quo. In spite of her doubly marginal position as a female who challenged conventional values in a male-dominated profession, Burgos achieved a writing career which brought her prominence and contributed significantly to her economic sustenance.

Cultural tenets would have held that Burgos's single-parent status and career aspirations were inappropriate, yet she was under constant pressure to support herself and her child. Chapter 2 will show that Burgos worked diligently to establish a reliable income by manipulating two career threads: while she labored to find better teaching positions, often in the face of opposition from within the system, she also endeavored to assure herself a favorable writing environment. Chapter 5 explains that Burgos's fiction frequently depicts a similar conflict among ideology, economic necessity, and women's aspirations to create for themselves a propitious environment.

Burgos was known by such contemporaries as Clara Campoamor and other members of the Unión Republicana Femenina for her spoken and written support of women's rights and republican government (Starcevic, Defensora 65).⁴ The religious community deemed her a threat and the

⁴ Campoamor was president of the organization.

newspaper El Siglo Futuro undertook a journalistic campaign against her in which she was labeled "la divorciadora." Yet Burgos authored instructional manuals for women which presupposed their limitation to a domestic role. She was, apparently, criticized by other contemporaries for the nonserious nature of such texts. In Carmen de Burgos: defensora de la mujer (1976), Elizabeth Starcevic cites an article which appeared in La esfera in 1922. Burgos tells the author, González Fiol, "'Cuando algún imbécil pretende hacerme de menos, me llama la ilustre autora de ¿Quiere usted comer bien?'" (47). Burgos indirectly addresses her critics, as well, in the 1924 Obras completas version of El arte de seducir, titled Tesoro de la belleza (arte de seducir). In the prologue to that text she defends her authorship of instructional manuals, while noting that such work was called "frívola y ligera."

Moreover, while Burgos occupied a public role, the conduct manual genre--in the tradition of Fray Luis de León's sixteenth-century text La perfecta casada--assumes that women's greatest satisfaction is to be found in the domestic sphere.⁵ Some modern feminist literary critics

⁵ Fray Luis de León wrote the treatise in 1583 to explain to Doña María Varela Osorio, a recent bride, what he considered to be ideal behavior for a Christian wife. The text is generally considered the prototype of conduct literature addressed directly to a female recipient. Its exclusive attention to women's deportment within the domestic sphere insinuated that they would only operate within that domain. Fray Luis's recommendations, establishing a Spanish Early Modern model of the "angel of

underline the contradiction between Burgos's averred social and political goals and the prescriptive content of such manuals. In the published papers from a 1996 conference in Córdoba, Spain, Danièle Bussy Genevois speculates on the problem of relating Burgos's "coherente y prestigiosa imagen con el polifacetismo de la obra y el personaje" (123).

María Pilar Rodríguez points out in a 1998 article "lo que aparentan ser fuertes contradicciones en la ideología de una mujer que tan pronto se declaraba entusiasta republicana y apasionada defensora de los derechos de la mujer como rebatía ardientemente los principios fundamentales de la independencia femenina" (382).

Such criticism of Burgos's apparently equivocal position vis à vis domestic issues prompted the initial inquiry of this dissertation: why would a woman committed to an early twentieth-century Spanish version of feminist goals subvert them by prescribing the domestic sphere to other women? And if this was the case, how would she position her authorship in order to recommend to others the domestic model she had apparently disavowed? How could she convince readers of her suitability as a domestic savant? How would an author of such "frivolous" texts assemble an audience for her fictional writing? If Burgos felt compelled to support the domestic ideology, as the existence of a corpus of

the hearth," are not simply historical artifact, for the text has been published repeatedly to the present day, and has been a common wedding gift to brides.

instructional manuals indicates, would she similarly situate fictional protagonists within the domestic sphere?⁶

My initial forays into Burgos's fiction and nonfiction did not discredit the criticism of the paradoxical nature of its content. The titles of the practical manuals sustain the image of woman as *ángel del hogar*⁷ and Burgos seemed to have produced such works throughout her career, invalidating my initial hypothesis that they might have been the work of an artistically immature author. A cursory look at the manuals supported their normative domestic nature. In contrast, Burgos's life represented the antithetical paradigm of the *mujer moderna*, suggesting that she prescribed a doctrine which she did not support.

Burgos's fictional protagonists did not hew to either paradigm; while frequently located in domestic surroundings, they do not enjoy the exemplary environment upon which domestic manuals are predicated. I conjectured that examining Burgos's espousal of apparently inconsistent

⁶ The depiction of domesticity has occupied an important space in the criticism of nineteenth century British and American literature. Nancy Armstrong's work on *Desire and Domestic Fiction* raises questions which are pertinent to Burgos's writing, as does Stephanie Smith's *Conceived by Liberty*.

⁷ In "El Ángel del Hogar: The Cult of Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century Spain," Bridget Aldaraca points out that "an ideal of womanhood which can be synthesized in the phrase *el ángel del hogar* lived and breathed in the pages of the women's and family magazines which abounded in Spain from the 1850s on" (63).

paradigms would, at the least, illuminate some of the difficulties inherent in writing from a doubly marginalized position. I hoped, furthermore, that a scrutiny of the practical manuals would elucidate the apparent duality in Burgos's authorial position. That process began only when I was able to peruse, in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, Burgos's nonfiction writings and speeches.

As the investigation continued, I discovered that some of my early assumptions about the practical manuals were the result of inadequate or inaccurate information on Burgos's corpus. Burgos had been largely ignored since the end of the Second Republic and the inception of the Franco regime shortly after her death. Although often mentioned as the companion of Ramón Gómez de la Serna, her writing was not discussed in most literary histories.⁸ Elizabeth Starcevic's 1977 dissertation and contemporaneous feminist revisions of the canon began to bring Burgos to the attention of American scholars, yet even such recent works on the period as Roberta Johnson's Crossfire: Philosophy and the Novel in Spain 1900-1934 and Robert Spire's Transparent Simulacra: Spanish Fiction 1902-1926 give her only cursory treatment.

Doubts about the ideological coherence of Burgos's obra may partially be the result of a dearth of information on

⁸ Burgos's omission from the canon is discussed by Carmen Urioste Azcorra in Narrativa Andaluza.

her, which has sustained the impression that Burgos authored myriad practical manuals on the same or similar topics and that she produced them throughout her career. That belief is fed, in part, by the similarity of the titles as well as the lack of publication dates in the books. In some cases, estimated dates of publication from the Biblioteca Nacional, which I will show to be incorrect, have been reproduced in María del Carmen Simón Palmer's extensive bibliography, Escritoras españolas del siglo XIX: manual bio-bibliográfico (1991). Concepción Núñez Rey's unpublished 1992 dissertation on Burgos, the most inclusive treatment to date of her life and corpus, perpetuates some of the same misinformation. Chapter 2 of this dissertation corrects errors in publication dates and explains that Burgos authored fewer practical manuals over a shorter period of time than has been thought. Based on these corrections, I posit that the practical manuals were far less important a part of Burgos's corpus.

Burgos's comments on her authorship of the instructional manuals, made in paratextual material such as prologues and introductions, further illuminates this discussion of her work. By examining Burgos's "Carta Prólogo" to her editor, Francisco Sempere, in La cocina moderna, and the prologues to two editions of El arte de seducir, this dissertation situates her statements of authorial consciousness in the context of her difficult

economic circumstances. Her authorship of such "frivolous" materials is made more understandable by a consideration of the relationship between her needs, both financial and creative, and her circumscribed position as a woman author. Sandra Lee Bartky's study, Femininity and Domination: Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression, contributes to an understanding of Burgos's marginal position in her culture and her profession.

The discussion of the "Carta Prólogo" in Chapter 3 establishes the importance Burgos placed on affirming her aptitude for the writing opportunity being offered to her by an important publisher. Moreover, it illustrates Burgos's conception, early in her career, that writing was of a piece with--or similar to--sewing. Her corpus includes frequent references to sewing, both as a creative activity and as a reliable source of income for women. In her "Autobiografía," she attributes her own authorial origins to the cutting and piecing together of articles for the family newspaper in Almería.

Journalism, where short pieces are the norm, frequently provided the introductory writing experiences of women who would later author novels. In "Piecing and Writing," Elaine Showalter points out the tendency for early women novelists to conceive of the creation of longer works as the joining together of such short pieces. While Showalter's evocation of metaphors of quilting are especially pertinent to

American authors, a similar correspondence between stitching and writing exists in the Spanish tradition. This dissertation explains the relevance of that metaphor, the *centón*, to Burgos's literary construction.⁹ Chapter 4 develops my theory of El arte de ser amada as a *centón*, relating Burgos's use of that technique to her constant pressure to produce. It also considers the structure of that text in the context of Burgos's reluctance to challenge directly the dominant domestic ideology, explaining that she disguises in the *centón* a discourse which is masked by the appearance of the text.

Chapter 5 scrutinizes three novellas, El tesoro del castillo (1907), El honor de la familia (1911), and La Flor de la Playa (1920). They form a group in which Burgos comments on the relationship of each protagonist to specific domestic issues. Marriage or maternity is at the center of the plot in all three works. This links them to one of Burgos's prototypical manuals, El arte de ser amada, as fictional expressions of her perspectives on women, love, and their domestic role. Two of the three novellas exemplify Burgos's use of the *centón* construction in fictional texts. The existence of the technique in the

⁹ According to the Diccionario de la Lengua, the *centón*, like the quilt, can be both a "[m]anta hecha de gran número de piecitas de paño o tela de diversos colores" or an "[o]bra literaria, en verso o prosa, compuesta enteramente, o en la mayor parte, de sentencias y expresiones ajenas."

novellas as well as in the nonfictional texts, particularly when considered in the context of Burgos's statements on authorship, links the style she adopted to the pressures she felt as a self-supporting woman author in early twentieth-century Spain.

This dissertation explains how Burgos stitched together a patchwork of remunerative writing activities, not only supporting herself and her daughter, but also achieving recognition by appealing to a burgeoning readership among middle-class women. Burgos was able to transfer the prominence she achieved among the female readers of practical manuals and newspaper articles to the new novella genre, thereby expanding her potential audience. Her ability to produce at such a prolific rate was the result of her apparently voracious reading and the procedure of literary piecing and recycling she had first devised as a journalist in Almería.

CHAPTER 2
LITERARY BEGINNINGS

Introduction:
"[M]ártir del silencio" or "promiscuidad feminista..."?²

Carmen de Burgos began her literary career in 1900, shortly preceding her separation from her husband Arturo Alvarez Bustos, with the publication in Almería of her Ensayos literarios. This first work reveals the intention, to which Burgos would remain committed throughout her career, not to restrict her writing to one genre, but rather to convey her ideas in diverse formats ranging from informational pamphlets to lengthy treatises on political topics and from novellas to full-length novels.

Ensayos literarios contains a few verses, some stories, and an essay called "La educación de la mujer." The latter was prepared after Burgos had accomplished her first step on the road to financial independence by earning the degrees of *Maestra de Primera Enseñanza Elemental* in 1895 and *Maestra de Primera Enseñanza Superior* in 1898 in Guadalajara. It is probable that she wrote it as a requirement for the oposiciones to secure what would be her first salaried

¹ Gómez de la Serna, "Prólogo" 15.

² Ledesma Hernández, "Prólogo" iii.

position in the *Escuelas Normales de Maestras* about a year after earning the second degree (Núñez Rey, diss 10).

It is particularly ironic that, as Burgos was planning for her economic independence by preparing the oposiciones, she wrote in the transcript accompanying them that "'[l]a mujer debe comprender y ayudar al marido con sus consejos, para poder vivir unidos con esos lazos morales, que son los que no pueden romperse nunca, los que forman la unión e idénticas almas'" (qtd. in Castañeda 21). Even if Burgos had not actually planned to separate from her husband at that time, her disillusion with their marriage was known in Almería. Her acquiescence to ideas about the model marriage reflects societal interpretations of the institution. Although she would continue to support the ideal of the male-female bond as a permanent union of compatible souls, she chose to break her own ties when her marital situation became intolerable. In this comment, however, she reinscribes the dominant ideology in almost the same words later used by other women to try to convince her of the role required of her in Spanish culture. Ramón Gómez de la Serna described this time of Burgos's life in the Prologue he wrote for her Confidencias de artistas: "Carmen se divorció en medio del escándalo provinciano y del odio de las mujeres, que la [sic] decían al oído: 'una mujer debe ser mártir del silencio y de la sumisión'" (15).

In 1901, a year after passing her examinations, Burgos added the essay on "La educación de la mujer" to selections of her fictional work and published them all as the book Ensayos literarios. Her use of the word *ensayos* in the title not only signals her entry in the essay genre, but also suggests the experimental nature of her first foray into publishing.

Burgos's financial circumstances dictated that, while developing her literary voice, she must also avoid alienating such a large sector of the public that she would be left without readers. Her writing reveals that both her personal aspirations and those she espoused for modern Spanish women were often circumscribed by the dominant negative attitude toward feminism, with its ostensible dangers to the family and the state. As a woman attempting to forge a career after leaving her husband, in an atmosphere in which women were defined as uniquely suited for domesticity, she was marginalized from the mainstream of her culture on many levels.

The Prologue to Ensayos literarios, written by Antonio Ledesma Hernández apparently at the request of Burgos and her husband (Núñez Rey, diss 105), sets forth the socio-cultural circumstances which would affect Burgos as a female author for the duration of her career. Ledesma Hernández praises the value of Burgos's intellectual activity by applauding her distance from the recent development of what

he considers to be exaggerated feminism, thus affirming her value in terms of the moderation she represented. He cautions her to avoid:

esa promiscuidad feminista que, no haciendo diferencia entre la distinta misión moral y social de ambos sexos, pretende igualarlos en actividades y derechos, y crear una sociedad histórica donde no haya preeminencias para ninguno, ni autoridad, ni por consiguiente familia ni Estado posibles.
(iii)

From a contemporary perspective, this is an alarming warning under the guise of support to the aspiring author. Ledesma Hernández's words leave no doubt that feminism was an important and controversial issue at the time. Even the person chosen by Burgos as apparently supportive of her work saw feminism as dangerous to morality, to the family, and even to the Spanish state. To a woman who was, apparently, at the point of leaving her husband in a society where divorce was nonexistent, his coupling of feminism with suggestions of promiscuity, albeit ideological, must have implied the possibility of the dire consequences of blemishing her personal reputation as well.

Ledesma Hernández's affirmation of Burgos's literary efforts places him in an enlightened position regarding women's options in Spanish culture; nonetheless, he expresses the predominant contemporary outlook toward the "polémica feminista."³ The persistence of the nineteenth-

³ For a discussion of the issues at stake in the "feminist polemic" see Geraldine Scanlon, *La Polémica Feminista en La España contemporánea (1868-1974)* and Mary

century "ángel del hogar" stereotype of women into the twentieth century would be a defining issue for Burgos throughout her career.

In a probable reference to Burgos's article on "La educación de la mujer" contained in the volume, Ledesma Hernández warns that "el Arte, subordinado a esas corrientes sociales," as it presumably is in her essay, "no es un arte puro y libre, como necesita serlo para aspirar a la realización de la eterna belleza" (v).⁴ In his opinion, the writer cannot achieve the kind of independent subjectivity necessary to strive toward eternal beauty if "he" considers social issues; furthermore, a concern with acquiring an audience determines that the writer's work will not be pure. Ledesma Hernández's language suggests, in addition, that the dominant contemporary Spanish ideology, with its belief in the family as a location of peace and stability, was troubled by underlying turmoil. Thus, it was especially dangerous to risk currying public favor:

[E]l escritor que se decide a buscar lectores, tiene que vivir del favor del público, supeditarse a sus gustos, dejarse llevar por esas turbulentas corrientes, y si con ello sus obras ganan en oportunidad, pierden en subjetivismo y en independencia. (v)

Since Ledesma Hernández had previously expressed his concern that feminism, by not maintaining distinct moral and

Nash, "Experiencia y aprendizaje: la formación histórica de los feminismos en España."

⁴ I was unable to consult Burgos's essay.

social missions for men and women, represented a significant threat to authority, family, and the Spanish state, it would certainly figure among the turbulent currents of public opinion he mentions. It is also possible that, since Burgos separated from her husband shortly after the publication of this text, Ledesma Hernández was aware of those future plans. Thus, although he addressed his Prologue to "'Señora Doña Carmen de Burgos,'" emphasizing her married status, his warning may also refer to the disorder inherent in the impending termination of that union.

In any case, after leaving Alvarez Bustos and relocating in Madrid with their daughter, Burgos's need to support herself and her child would give added urgency to her particular requirement to "buscar lectores." Through her experience with the educational system, she certainly would have been conscious of the paucity of literate women and of the difficulties facing a female attempting to generate a livelihood as a writer.⁵ Thus, she was presumably aware that she would have to fashion a unique audience within the reading public in order to support herself and her daughter.

⁵ Rosa María Capel Martínez states in El trabajo y la educación de la mujer en España that in 1900 "[e]l analfabetismo alcanza la cima [sic] del 71,4 por ciento entre las mujeres, mientras para los hombres supone algo más de la mitad de ellos" (362). The overall 28.6% of women who were literate were unequally distributed, with the highest representation in northern Spain where female literacy hovered closer to 50 per cent. On the other hand, female illiteracy reached 83.6 per cent in Murcia.

Ledesma Hernández's prologue defines the dilemma which would face her as a writer: would she choose or be forced to sacrifice authorial independence in order to appeal to the tastes of majority public opinion? This plight would be most obvious in the inherent conflict between Burgos's nontraditional personal life and the professional position she would achieve as a much-published expert on domestic matters. While forging a path contrary to the dominant domestic ideology for herself, she became well-known for a series of practical manuals, specifically directed to the female reader, which appeared to support it. These works, in which Burgos advises women how to better perform traditionally female duties while devoting their constant attention to the maintenance of youth and beauty, assume her authorial expertise and interest in those areas.

Within the physical boundaries of Burgos's first published text, Ledesma Hernández's statement on the dangerous consequences of feminism delivers a threat which would resonate through often contradictory statements in Burgos's corpus. His prologue, although apparently welcomed, was a metaphor for the penetration into her work by ideological voices warning of the dangers of feminism. The possibility of the dissolution of the family and, as a consequence, the Spanish state, represented a significant peril to Ledesma Hernández and to other supporters of the

dominant ideology. It could be expected to exercise a powerful monitory force on Burgos's potential readership.

In Femininity and Domination, Sandra Bartky compares such often imperceptible interference to "oppression that is economic and political in character" (22). While those modes are certainly applicable to Burgos, Bartky carries her analysis of oppression a step farther: she characterizes "psychic alienation" in women which is comparable to the "psychological effects of colonialism on the colonized." (22). Under these conditions,

[t]he psychologically oppressed become their own oppressors; they come to exercise harsh dominion over their own self-esteem. Differently put, psychological oppression can be regarded as the 'internalization of intimations of inferiority' (22).

The phenomenon described by Bartky is particularly apparent in Burgos's career. In order to establish the conditions of Burgos's oppression, my analysis of her authorship will take into account the economic and cultural difficulties arising from her decision to forsake the traditional female role for women of her class, defined by Burgos's culture as domestic. Accordingly, in this chapter I will explore Burgos's efforts to establish herself in Madrid as an author and sole support of her family. I will consider her efforts to maintain a steady income through her teaching career while remaining in an environment which was both financially and creatively beneficial to her. Furthermore, I will consider the heterogeneity of the genres in which she worked as an

indication of her strategy to maintain her literary production.

Burgos's efforts to establish a writing career would certainly suffer from oppression within the male-dominated literary world because of the extremely limited participation of women in that realm. She expressed an awareness of the importance of her unusual participation in the daily press, as I mention in Chapter 1. That her corpus contains a large number of practical guides addressing such home-management skills as letter-writing, cooking, budgeting, the creation of decorative objects to beautify the home, personal beauty routines, and the "arts" of being elegant and being loved implies that Burgos was experienced in household vocations; they are, as their topics clearly indicate, all "Guía[s] de la buena dueña de casa".⁶ Burgos's insistence in these works on women's domestic function appears to support the limitation of women's sphere of influence to the home, yet she did not live out this paradigm herself. This leads us to question the degree of authorial autonomy Burgos was able to exercise, given her economic and cultural circumstances.

The significant quantity of such manuals in Burgos's corpus, and their attribution by the Biblioteca Nacional and Núñez Rey to her mature as well as her early years of

⁶ La mujer en el hogar: Guía de la buena dueña de casa.

writing,⁷ creates the impression that they characterize her obra. I will explain, however, circumstances relating to Burgos's production of these manuals which diminish their relative magnitude in her corpus. Furthermore, by presenting information about Burgos's efforts to establish an economically viable career, I will confirm Bartky's hypothesis comparing gender-based oppression to political oppression: Burgos's conditions of authorship within the literary empire were akin to those of an "internal colony" within a geo-political one (22). I will address Burgos's cultivation of a reading public through the press, leading to the expansion of writing and publishing possibilities for her. I will explain that, presumably as a result of her newspaper articles, most of which appeared under the banner of "Lecturas para la mujer," two of the most important publishing companies of early twentieth-century Spain, Sempere in Valencia and Sopena in Barcelona, sought to add Burgos to their list of writers.

My research into the practical manuals Burgos prepared for them has revealed details illuminating the apparently repetitive nature of their titles; furthermore, my study of the texts has led me to a new interpretation of their chronological order, enabling me to locate them more

⁷ All of these works were published undated, but Núñez Rey's dissertation does not challenge the dates suggested in the Biblioteca Nacional listings.

accurately in her corpus. That information will also be introduced in this chapter.

"[A] buscar lectores"

"[L]levo dentro muchos voes..."⁹

Ensayos literarios demonstrates that Burgos attempted to establish a relationship between her writing and her position as an educator of women; in that domain, her degrees and professional titles would have commanded authority for her written words. In the same volume, she also established her interest in writing in genres not directly related to her official capacity. She confirms that intention with her second work, a collection of cantares called Notas del alma, published in Madrid in 1901, contemporaneous with changes in her marital status, employment, and location. In Notas del alma, however, she does not show an interest in sacrificing subjectivity to popularity as Ledesma Hernández feared she might; rather, she seems to heed his advice on the nature of art by restricting the work to personal expression through a collection of verses. These poems bear a clear relationship to the personal disillusionment which resulted in the break-up of her marriage (Núñez Rey, diss 114).

The publication of Ensayos literarios and Notas del alma is, as I have indicated, chronologically associated

⁸ Ledesma Hernández, "Prólogo" iii.

⁹ Burgos, "Autobiografía," in Al balcón viii.

with several other momentous changes in Burgos's life which signal her intention to redefine herself. It is clear from the first that writing was an integral part of her plan to construct a new life independent of her husband. In turn-of-the-century Spain, however, writing was not likely to have provided a living wage even for a male.¹⁰ After her move to Madrid, Burgos was a self-supporting single parent who, as Cansinos-Assens pointed out in La novela de un literato, was "¿La primer [sic] mujer periodista que hace reportajes y no es condesa ni beata como la Pardo Bazán!" (189) As Cansinos-Assens's comment indicates, Burgos was not supported by aristocratic connections and familial wealth as was her literary contemporary, Emilia Pardo Bazán.¹¹ Thus, her strategy would have to include establishing both her own alliances and a base of regular income-producing activities.

¹⁰ Carlos Serrano informed me that even Unamuno, with his post as Catedrático in Salamanca, complained of not earning a living wage (25 March 1998).

¹¹ Although Pardo Bazán claimed that her writing income was important to her, Maryellen Bieder remarked in a personal interview (29 March 1997) that a woman of her social class would very likely have had an inheritance. It is possible that, because of Burgos's father's position as Portuguese Consul, even Burgos may have had some small family support. But people who knew her, such as Ramón Gómez de la Serna, consistently mention her poverty: "Carmen vino a Madrid a rehacer su vida, sin recursos, con su hija en brazos, como esas pobres de mantón con su hijo palpitante bajo el mantón.... Apenada, nerviosa, fatigada, escribía para vivir...." ("Prólogo" 15)

Burgos was trained for the teaching profession in the Normal of Guadalajara, the only type of higher education available to a woman at that time. Although she had secured the necessary degrees by 1898, it was not until over a year later that she participated in the examinations for a post in the Normal, presumably preparing the essay on "La educación de la mujer" for that process, as previously noted. It was consistent with her training for Burgos to place teaching at the center of her design to stabilize her financial position after leaving her husband.

From the first days of her employment in Guadalajara, however, it is clear that she was also striving to advance her writing career by assuring herself a propitious environment in which to work. The existence of articles written by Burgos for Madrid newspapers contemporaneous with her post in Guadalajara indicate that she must have endeavored to maintain close contact with the journalistic community in Madrid. In 1901, she applied to the Colegio Nacional de Sordomudos y Ciegos in Madrid to participate in a course on the methodology of teaching people with visual, hearing, and speech impairments. She was accepted, and continued this course of study until 1905, thus utilizing the possibilities existing within the Ministerio de Educación to relocate to Madrid where she could maintain

contact with the newspapers for which she was writing (Núñez Rey, diss 13; Castañeda 27).¹²

During these early years in Madrid, Burgos often demonstrated her proclivity, begun with the essay on "La educación de la mujer," to link her writing to her occupation as a teacher. By utilizing one profession to assert her expertise in the other, she benefitted both. Both a pamphlet on La protección y la higiene de los niños and a small book on decorative hand-stitches, Moderno tratado de labores, date from 1904; in order to improve her standing in the educational system, Burgos took the appropriate steps to have both works officially recognized as meritorious for her career and of practical value for the schools (Núñez Rey, diss 13; Castañeda 27).

These efforts indicate that maintaining her teaching occupation as a reliable source of income was an important objective for her. At the same time, Burgos's bibliography reveals other approaches to generating financial benefits through paraliterary activities. Translating was a common income-producing activity for many authors at that time, who often regarded the work as humiliating, but financially necessary. Cansinos-Assens, recounting his first meeting with Burgos, describes translating as the "duro pan del

¹² Burgos's 1905 Spanish translation of Helen Keller's autobiography, Sorda, muda y ciega, had a prologue by Eloy Bejarano Sánchez, comisario regio of the Colegio Nacional de Sordomudos y Ciegos.

exilio. Pero al novel literario en el desierto del anónimo es el único que se le brinda y ha de roerlo y encontrarlo blando" (188). Burgos's clear financial need, and her sole responsibility for her daughter as she struggled to redefine herself as a writer in the male-dominated Madrid literary world, must have made her particularly well acquainted with Cansinos-Assens's "duro pan del exilio."

Burgos's name, as translator, is affixed to the Spanish versions of many late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century philosophical, scientific, and esthetic works of the time. There is evidence that she was not multi-lingual, casting doubt on her ability to have translated from many different languages.¹³ Nevertheless, her exposure to these

¹³ Given the kind of education available to Burgos in Andalucía, it does not seem feasible that she translated from English, German, Italian, and other languages. Rafael Cansinos-Assens, who writes of his acquaintance with Burgos in La novela de un literato, insists that she did not do all of the translating for which she took credit, but frequently contracted this work to him and to others. Indeed, he tells that he first went to her home because she had heard that he knew German and was interested in hiring him to translate Nordau's Morganatic for a fee of "30 duros." He quotes her as saying, "Yo también traduzco..., del francés, naturalmente..., no sé otra cosa..." (191).

In 1906 Burgos delivered a speech on La Mujer en España to the Italian Press Association in Rome; it was published along with congratulatory telegrams and newspaper reviews by the Valencian publisher Sempere. That text reveals that Il Giornale d'Italia commented that Burgos's talk had been "pronunciada en el dulce idioma de Cervantes" (57) and the French paper, Le Petit Poète, reported that "[l]a ha pronunciado en la lengua española, pero los que saben el italiano entienden el español" (59). It seems likely that Burgos would have delivered that speech in Italian had she been capable. She is, nevertheless, given credit for the "versión española," probably published not long after 1910, of the Italian Mantegazza's La fisiología del placer

texts, whether or not in the original language, must have broadened her knowledge of foreign opinions informing the Spanish polemic on women's roles.

In addition to the questionable reputation Burgos incurred among several of her male contemporaries by claiming credit for translations she might not have done,¹⁴ the content of those works troubles both contemporary and subsequent interpretations of her obra. From the perspective of modern feminism, for example, Burgos's most infamous "contribution" to the turn-of-the-century Spanish discussion on women's rights was her 1904 "translation" of P.J. Moebius's La inferioridad mental de la mujer. This treatise, made available in Spain at least partially through Burgos's labor and under her name, lent the weight of German

[original from about 1898].

In addition, I have observed that some of Burgos's statements in the text of La mujer moderna y sus derechos (1927) seem to be based upon an apparent misunderstanding of English, indicating that she did not have a command of that language. Nonetheless, Núñez Rey suggests that it is very possible that Burgos knew French and translated works from pre-existing French versions into Spanish (personal interview 20 June 1996).

¹⁴ Cansinos-Assens repeatedly hints at sexual indiscretion on Burgos's part when he writes of her literary connections and of the work she secures, echoing Ledesma Hernández's suggestions of "promiscuidad feminista." He devotes a chapter to "Nuevos amigos de Colombine" in La novela de un literato in which he writes "Coquetea con todos, ... con BarriÖbero, ... y ... con Ramón.... Según Dieguito, él es que se lleva la palma... Es un bohemio, no anda siempre bien de dinero; pero ayuda a Colombine, traduciendo cosas para Sempere, que ella firma y cobra... ¡Colombine no da de balde sus favores!..." (364)

scientific credence to theories asserting the physical unsuitability of women for rational thought and for contributions outside the domestic sphere. Burgos added her own Prologue and commented on the content in a few textual notes, but did not condemn the work (at least not at this point in her career).¹⁵ Moreover, she affirmed that she played a positive role in translating it and other works in the "Autobiografía" she wrote in 1909 for Prometeo, the literary magazine she developed with Ramón Gómez de la Serna.¹⁶

Muchas traducciones y muchos prólogos: Naquet, Moebius, Tolstoi, Renán, Darwin, Bovio y todos los hombres cuya inteligencia puede influir sobre nuestro pueblo de un modo benéfico, destruyendo las doctrinas de Loyola, han sido traducidos por mí para la importante casa editorial de Sempere, que dirige en Valencia el gran novelista Blasco Ibáñez. (xii)

Apparently while associated with the Colegio Nacional de Sordomudos y Ciegos in Madrid, and perhaps even before, Burgos also strove to cultivate her reputation as a journalist. The manner in which she began to integrate herself into the contemporary press is not clear from written records, but it seems to be based on a combination of socio-cultural circumstances which created a few,

¹⁵ In El arte de ser amada (1910-1913?), discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, Burgos minimizes the value of Moebius's conclusions.

¹⁶ "Autobiografía" was subsequently re-published in Al balcón. I cite from that version.

although narrowly defined, writing opportunities for a woman author.

Burgos may have had familial support establishing contacts with the literary community in Madrid: Ensayos literarios was dedicated to an uncle, Don Agustín de Burgos, a senator living in the capital (Castañeda 25; Núñez Rey, diss 10). She arrived there with some journalistic experience, albeit limited, from as early as 1886 in Almería. There she had filled the vacuum created by her husband's failure to attend to Almería bufa, the paper owned by his father. In the Autobiography in Al balcón, she recounts her journalistic beginnings:

Empecé por cajista de imprenta, en la que poseía mi padre político. Después escribí con las tijeras para completar un periódico satírico. Mi primer artículo mereció los honores de la crítica y la reproducción fuera de la provincia.... (xi)

That experience of producing apparently well received articles by "writing" with scissors, that is, earning praise for work that was only partly hers, was no doubt useful when Burgos was called upon to demonstrate her expertise on the range of topics not necessarily of interest to her, but allotted to women authors.

Recalling in his autobiography, Automoribundia (1948), the difficult years in which Burgos pieced together her sustenance, Ramón Gómez de la Serna wrote that Burgos lived "independientemente aunque pobre, gracias a artículos mal pagados, a un puesto de maestra y a traducciones" (210).

Even the three sources of income combined, however, left her in desperate financial straits: Gómez de la Serna narrates, "No hay estera ni lumbre en su casa. El frío es atroz" (211).

Fortunately for Burgos, her arrival in Madrid corresponded to a period of journalistic expansion which had begun during the Restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy. As José-Carlos Mainer explains in La Edad de Plata, the press and the "nueva literatura" joined each other in an effort to attract readers through a wider and more inexpensive diffusion of literature than could be achieved by books alone (60). This effort would have been mutually beneficial to both the press and many writers of the younger generation, leaving the book publishers to compete with newspapers for the audience which had previously been exclusively theirs.

Mainer fails to mention an additional demographic factor which is particularly relevant to the career of Carmen de Burgos: in 1900, women represented a little over fifty per cent of the population, and that portion continued to rise gradually throughout the first third of the century. Moreover, female literacy began to increase during those years and in the 1920s, literate women began to outweigh the illiterate for the first time in Spanish history (Capel Martínez, Trabajo 27, 362). If the press and the publishing companies were going to compete to attract readers, they

would certainly need to take into account the growing number of women who were becoming consumers of the written word.

By 1902 Burgos was already a player in the press's pursuit of the woman reader. She contributed frequently to several newspapers on topics obviously intended for a female audience but widely disparate in subject matter, ranging from fashion, recipes, and beauty, to feminism and suffrage. In 1903, Augusto Suárez Figueroa, the Director of the Diario universal, assigned Burgos to write a column called "Lecturas para la mujer," and anointed her with the pseudonym "Colombine." Later, Burgos related in her "Autobiografía" that she did not know why the name was chosen. Her interpretation of the nature of her namesake in the Italian *commedia*, however, causes her to suggest that "por la agilidad y por la frivolidad que necesita el periódico mezclar a la sesudez de sus artículos de fondo y sus políticas era necesario...."¹⁷ Burgos's comment suggests her understanding that she was hired to provide a "feminine touch" which would not include the treatment of serious political issues. In any case, she writes that she accepted the name because it was given to her by "un

¹⁷ In the article, "'Colombine' y Pierrot" published in Al balcón, Burgos relates that during her first day at Diario Universal, Figueroa said that she would be called Raquel in the paper, but that there was considerable discussion and changing of the name. She did appear as Raquel in the first issue of the paper, but it never was sold to the public. The next day, he decided to call her Colombine. For additional discussion of her interpretation of the name, see Al balcón (95-99).

periodista insigne, un maestro." Apparently as a result of the success of her column, Suárez Figueroa named Burgos the first female editor of the paper.

Ramón Gómez de la Serna relates that during those years, Burgos wrote for several other papers and fashion magazines and "para dar variedad a su nombre empleaba los pseudónimos ingenuos y románticos de 'Raquel', 'Honorine' 'Marianella'" (Prólogo 15). In addition, she prepared articles of literary criticism for the Heraldo de Madrid as Perico el de los Palotes, political articles for El Pueblo in Valencia as Gabriel Luna, and four articles per month for the ABC. It is probably not coincidental that she used male pseudonyms for the articles not specifically directed to women.

In the few years between 1900 and 1904, Burgos ended her marriage; went to Madrid; competed for and won a teaching position in Guadalajara; studied pedagogy for people with sensory impairments in Madrid; wrote articles, sometimes on a daily basis, for several newspapers; and published five books. To describe as prodigious the labor she undertook--stitching together a writing career from the bits and pieces available to her--is to fail to do it justice. Gómez de la Serna points out in Autormoribundia that in spite of her remarkable effort, her economic needs were scarcely met: "Los libros de ella salían en editoriales

que los vendian bien, pero por ello sólo recibía unos miles de reales que se iban en pagar lo imprescindible" (211).

Burgos's circle of readers must have widened significantly through her daily articles in the Diario universal; it is likely that it would have expanded dramatically on December 27, 1903, when she authored a controversial article, based on personal experience, calling for the formation of a "club de matrimonios mal avenidos" to study the possible basis for a divorce law in Spain. Burgos evidently decided to capitalize on the ensuing publicity by inviting such well known writers and intellectuals of the day as Pio Baroja, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer, Franciso Giner de los Ríos, Emilia Pardo Bazán, and Miguel de Unamuno to contribute their opinions, through letters to her column, on the advisability of such a law.

By initiating a conversation with established literary figures, Burgos would have inscribed herself, to a certain extent, into the literary circle in which those authors moved. After publishing just twelve of the letters received, however, Burgos terminated the discussion and announced in the paper that she would continue it in the form of a book; it was published in 1904 as El divorcio en España.¹⁸ Castañeda's biography of Burgos suggests that she

¹⁸ Burgos concluded in the book that Spanish opinion was favorable to divorce and predicted optimistically that it would be established, although she did not specify how soon.

was probably responding to editorial pressure not to continue the discussion in the paper, but, instead, chose the less immediate and less widely-circulated option of a book in order to avoid total abandonment of the divorce issue (36). It is also likely that Burgos would have profited more from a book contract than from a piecemeal disclosure of the responses in the press. I would like to suggest, in addition, that although books certainly reached a far more limited public than the daily press, their readers were of a higher socio-economic position. Thus, Burgos could have advanced her authorial status by securing the publication of her initiative along with the responses she solicited, although some were merely a refusal to comment on such a controversial issue.

Burgos's now published opinion in favor of divorce, and her comparison of divorce to a recent papal reform giving novice nuns the right to "separate" from the convent, provoked the ire of the Catholic Church.¹⁹ Certainly, divorce represented the ultimate threat to the family structure and, as such, to the continuance of Catholic dogma which was staunchly supported by conservative political

¹⁹ In El divorcio en España, Burgos refers to a telegram from Rome published in Diario universal in which Pius X proposes to eliminate the perpetual nature of the vows of novice nuns.

forces.²⁰ Castañeda explains that "[c]uando [los del sector conservador] se enteran de su campaña lanzan críticas feroces contra ella, llamándola 'la divorciadora'" (118). El Siglo Futuro, which Castañeda describes as "el periódico que defiende los intereses del Vaticano," was particularly vigorous in the attack (118). Burgos, reacting to the severity of the criticism, went to the editorial office to see the director. But, she later wrote, "'[s]alió el redactor-jefe, y como se negase a darme explicaciones y a rectificar, le di bofetadas'" (in Starcevic 46). Needless to say, this incident was widely recorded in the papers (Starcevic 45). Eventually, El Siglo Futuro rectified its verbal attack on Burgos, but her association with anti-Church and anti-family forces, as well as her reputation for nontraditional female behavior, were not easily shed.

A review of Burgos's 1904 production reveals that she published original works on divorce, the care and protection of children, and decorative sewing, as well as the prologue and translation of Moebius's La inferioridad mental de la mujer. The concurrence of these dates demonstrates that in 1903 and 1904 Burgos was in the paradoxical position of using the print media to campaign both for and against women's rights in general and the conventional family

²⁰ Burgos did not support divorce as we now know it, but rather a legalized separation giving a woman the right to leave her husband's domicile without sacrificing all of her possessions and parental rights over the children of the marriage.

structure in particular, thus simultaneously supporting and undermining the traditional Spanish ideology of domesticity. Today it is not necessarily regarded as inconsistent to favor the existence of divorce and yet support the welfare of children. In the dominant ideology of Catholic Spain, however, marriage, procreation, and the succoring of children were linked as the most highly esteemed social goals for women.

Thus, Burgos occupied a unique position in Spanish culture: in the same years, she accrued fame through negatively perceived personal circumstances which marginalized her from societal norms, yet she spoke authoritatively as a paradigmatic "ama de casa" advising women on sewing and child care. Burgos would continue to represent this ambivalent position in the practical manuals she wrote for two of the most important publishers in early twentieth-century Spanish literature.

It was within this context of multiple careers and conflict with social institutions that Burgos wrote of her "muchos yoes" in the "Autobiografía" for Prometeo:

Mi vida es sencilla o compleja, según se la quiera considerar. No hay en ella escenas emocionantes ni hechos melodramáticos dignos de ocupar la curiosidad del público. Mi vida se deslizó dentro de mí, y todas sus complicaciones nacieron en mi espíritu... Ha variado de fases muchas veces-- tantas, que me parece haber vivido en muchas generaciones diferentes--. Y yo también he cambiado de ideas... de sentimientos... ¿Qué sé yo!... Me río de la unidad del yo, porque llevo dentro muchos yoes: hombres, mujeres, chiquillos, viejos... Me pelearía si discutiese con alguno...

pero les dejo que venza el que más dé la gana...
 ¡Todas son buenas personas!... A veces,
 imprudentes, demasiado confiados... suelen obrar
 con ligereza y tener de qué arrepentirse...
 Entonces intervengo. (viii-ix)

In this discourse, she expresses some embarrassment at the public interest in her confrontations with social institutions, revealing her perception of the conflict between her behavior and that expected of the turn-of-the-century Spanish woman. Addressing, as well, her "vidas" of "profesora" and "periodista" (x-xi), she writes that the first would be "tan insufrible como el matrimonio y el cocido si yo no la supiera adornar de azul" (x). Thus, she reveals her consciousness of the need to view her multifaceted responses to her economic situation through a positive lens. Differing from María Pilar Rodríguez's interpretation in her article "Modernidad y feminismo: Tres relatos de Carmen de Burgos," I construe Burgos's willingness to allow a particular "yo" to overcome the others as a recognition of her pragmatic resolution of her circumstances of marginality (382). In my opinion, Burgos's statements reveal, not her incapacity to constitute a fixed identity, as Rodríguez posits, but rather her capacity to adopt the pragmatic positions that would enable her to live independently. In writing of the "muchos yoes" that she carries within, she celebrates her ability to weave such often tangled threads into a distinct role in Spanish culture. Ledesma Hernández's Prologue to Burgos's first

work seemed to be a warning of the danger of allowing one "yo" to triumph, for it could cause her to lose readers and income if she moved too solidly into the camp of that exaggerated and promiscuous feminism which he, and others, regarded as a threat to Spanish society.

Books for women: Sempere and Sopena

At around the same time as she was conducting the survey on divorce, Burgos became acquainted with Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, perhaps because of his agreement with her on that issue or, more generally, his radical republican stance, one with which Burgos would eventually associate herself.²¹ Blasco was well connected with Valencia, an "importante centro difusor de formas culturales populares" in the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth (Mainer 62). More important still, his direction of *Editorial Sempere* would turn out to be crucial to Burgos's career. According to José-Carlos Mainer, who does not include Burgos in his discussion, Sempere was responsible for translating the turn-of-the-century Parnassian favorites which inspired "periodistas bohemios" to give birth to "la expresión artística moderna" (29). Blasco's introduction of Burgos to Francisco Sempere led to the establishment of a publishing relationship between them which would eventually generate hard-cover collections of her *cuentos*, several

²¹ Cansinos-Assens refers to Burgos as "la... bueno, la amiga de Blasco Ibáñez," implying with his suspension dots that the two were more than casual friends (188).

full-length novels, published versions of some speeches, and the collection of instructional manuals discussed in subsequent chapters. Cansinos Assens, in mentioning Burgos's association with Blasco, states that, through it, she "dispone, como de cosa propia, de la Editorial Sempere" (188).

Emphasizing the role of certain publishers such as Sempere in the literary "revolución parnaso finisecular," Mainer also mentions the importance of Editorial Sopena in Barcelona in making the great nineteenth-century European novels available in Spain (29-30).²² These two editoriales were responsible, as well, for the publication of the majority of Burgos's practical manuals for women. The role of Sempere, which I will develop more fully in the next chapter, was more definitive in Burgos's career than that of Sopena; nevertheless, I will explain that Sopena played a surprising, if less formative, part in the circulation of Burgos's work.

Burgos's connection with such pivotal figures in the diffusion of nineteenth-century European classics and twentieth-century modernist literature broadens the view of

²² Mainer explains that "el arte español de la crisis de fin de siglo hubiera sido impensable sin el fuerte impacto del conocimiento y convivencia con los extranjeros" (58). That impact was provided by authors such as Hugo, Dumas, Scott, Dickens, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, made available in Spain by Sopena. Sempere was publishing Kropotkin, Nietzsche, Engels, and Nordau, whose work Burgos mentions frequently.

early twentieth-century Spanish literature presented by Mainer. His emphasis on the importance of foreign works in the Spanish "ruptura modernista," and his concomitant focus on the burgeoning intellectual audience, leads him to ignore another minority readership that, as we have seen, was increasing: women. Sempere and Sopena did not slight this share of the market, however; both took women readers into account by developing women's collections which relied heavily on Burgos's work. In the following chapter, I will discuss the relationship between their understanding of that female audience and Burgos's corpus of instructional manuals for women.

Franciso Sempere was evidently aware that he could not afford to disregard the growing public of women readers. Concurrent with his cultivation of an elite audience interested in foreign authors, he was actively involved with Carmen de Burgos in the creation of a Biblioteca para la mujer. It is apparent that he did not consider his list of recent fiction by male authors sufficient to attract the gradually increasing literate female population; rather, his extensive "Library for Women" consists of domestic instructional manuals, designed to educate women of the reading class in matters considered appropriate to them at the time. His selection of Burgos, a controversial Spanish female author with a journalistic reputation for writing on

topics of interest to women, would be likely to secure an immediate following for the works.

Sempere's notion of appropriate reading matter for women differs markedly from that of Adolfo Posada and Emilia Pardo Bazán. Their earlier attempts to create a wide female audience based on international feminist readings had been unsuccessful. In Carmen de Burgos: defensora de la mujer, Starcevic points out that "frustrado fue el intento de Emilia Pardo Bazán de introducir en la península las ideas foráneas." She cites Pardo Bazán addressing that issue:

'Cuando yo fundé la 'Biblioteca de la Mujer', era mi objeto difundir en España las obras del alto feminismo extranjero, y por eso di cabida en ella a 'La esclavitud femenina' de Stuart Mill, y a 'La mujer ante el socialismo' de Augusto Bebel. Eran aquellos los tiempos apostólicos de mi interés por la causa. He visto, sin género de duda, que aquí a nadie le preocupan gran cosa tales cuestiones...' (24)

"[H]uyendo de lo molesto..."²³

By the time Burgos began to write for Sempere, probably around 1905, she had achieved a new level of literary standing, but had experienced serious difficulties sustaining her teaching career. After the publication of El divorcio en España, and perhaps as a result of unfavorable reaction to it in the Escuela Normal de Guadalajara, Burgos requested and was awarded a grant from the Ministerio de

²³ Burgos, "Autobiografía," Al balcón ix.

Instrucción Pública to study educational systems in other European countries.²⁴

She traveled in France, Italy, and Switzerland from early October, 1905 to the end of September, 1906. In Switzerland, it is probable that Burgos attended, although not as an official delegate, an international conference on women's education which she later mentions in La mujer en el hogar and Vademécum femenino. During her travels, she met feminist writers and visited with the Paris delegation of the Lyceum Club of London. She also talked with the philosopher Max Nordau, whose work she mentioned favorably in several texts, and with Alfred Naquet, who sponsored France's divorce law. Her welcome by the intellectual community and continued correspondence with Nordau and Naquet attests to her standing outside of Spanish educational circles.²⁵ If the Ministerio de Educación or the Catholic Church hoped that this trip would bring Burgos more into line with traditional Catholic family doctrine, her activities did not fulfill that expectation. On the contrary, she seems to have pursued a strategy of self-

²⁴ Núñez Rey states that the Directora de la Escuela Normal Central, in awarding Burgos the grant, made it clear that she had been the only applicant (Burgos 24).

²⁵ At her request, Nordau contributed a letter to Vademécum femenino in which he states his negative opinion on women's use of the corset. His biography mentions his meetings with Burgos during his exile in Madrid in 1914. The Hungarian expatriate Nordau advised her on the Jewish situation, which was one of her interests.

education on the most controversial issues of the day, with foreign liberal reformers as her teachers.

In Rome in April of 1906, she was invited to speak to the Asociación de la Prensa on the topic of "La mujer en España."²⁶ Burgos's talk seems to have been a major event, attended by "representación de las dos embajadas, de pensionados de la Academia de España, de gran parte de la colonia y de un público numeroso y selecto donde estaba en mayoría el bello sexo" (Il Pópolo Romano quoted in La mujer en España 55). Also in attendance was Concepción Gimeno de Flaquer, author of La mujer (1877) and a conservative feminist who had responded in the negative to Burgos's survey on divorce.²⁷ The speech was published by Sempere with an appendix including selections from the congratulatory telegrams Burgos received from Nordau and Naquet on the occasion of the speech. The Appendix also featured a compilation of press reviews, including some from a French paper, several from Italy, and some from Burgos's Madrid paper, the Heraldo. They refer to Burgos as "[l]a

²⁶ The speech was later published with the same title by Sempere. At forty-eight pages of text, it seems lengthy for a talk, but it ends with the words "Grandes aplausos" giving the impression that it is a faithful reproduction of her talk. See the list of Works Cited for the complete reference.

²⁷ The Rome paper La Tribuna commented on the presence of Gimeno de Flaquer at the speech, referring to her as "la notable literata española ..., novelista y autora de escritos filosóficos sobre el feminismo, audaz propagandista de estas ideas" (La mujer en España 56).

notable escritora" (quoted in La mujer en España 52), and "[l]a redactora del Heraldo de Madrid y distinguida escritora" (Arturo Matei, quoted in La mujer en España 53), and "[l]a bella y culta señora Carmen de Burgos, escritora, conferenciante y periodista española" (La Vita, quoted in La mujer en España 57). These comments certainly indicate that Burgos's work was highly respected in certain circles, and also that she was considered primarily a journalist on women's issues at that time.

Sempere's edition of La mujer en España includes a list of Burgos's works, with publication dates. Under the heading "Originales," it includes such works as Ensayos literarios (1900), featuring the Ledesma Hernández prologue, and Notas del alma (1901). Appearing under "Traducciones," but parenthetically called an "arreglo" is Modelos de cartas (1905).²⁸ I will fully discuss the significance of the *arreglos* and analyze an example of Burgos's technique of textual arrangements in the following two chapters. Modelos de cartas must be the first practical manual in the Burgos-Sempere Biblioteca para la mujer and is grouped with those works in subsequent lists.

²⁸ Perhaps this work, which would be excluded from the category "Traducidas" in a subsequent list in Al balcón, is called a translation here because the women's series on which Burgos and Sempere would collaborate had not yet been created. Furthermore, it is likely that Burgos borrowed heavily from published sources in other languages in assembling the practical manuals; this would account for the use of the term "arreglo."

"[M]e perseguía por liberal..."²⁹

The nature of Burgos's experiences outside of Spain, while seen as successful by some, appeared to damage rather than promote her teaching career. Her position in the educational system, with the only guaranteed (albeit small) income she had, continued to deteriorate. Her associations abroad with people well known for their espousal of liberal causes immediately preceded a time of political conservatism in Spain. Prior to 1907, Burgos was probably protected politically within the educational system by Segismundo Moret, a friend of the Burgos family and President of the *Partido Liberal* (Núñez Rey, diss 34). In 1907, however, the conservative Antonio Maura formed what would be called the "gobierno largo" and appointed Faustino Rodríguez San Pedro as the new *Ministro de Educación*.

From her first essay on "La educación de la mujer," Burgos had spoken in favor of reforms in the educational system, and she continued to do so in her *Heraldo* articles (Castañeda 29). Her teaching career began to be impeded by a series of actions by the *Ministerio*. Núñez Rey suggests that this apparent harassment of Burgos was concurrent with and a result of the formation of the conservative government (34). There is evidence to support Burgos perceiving it as such: in a footnote in *La mujer en el hogar*, addressing the issue of educational reform, she writes that she "no logró

²⁹ Burgos qtd. in Gómez de la Serna, "Prólogo" 22.

sacar de su ensueño rutinario al entonces ministro, don Faustino Rodríguez San Pedro" (6). Furthermore, Gómez de la Serna recounts a conversation he had with Burgos in which she recalls some of the more frequently repeated critical anecdotes about her, and I cite,

'He hecho que vociferase contra mí, en el Senado, el obispo de Jaca, y, desde el puesto en que cumplía mi deber, desafié al ministro que me perseguía por liberal, a aquel infausto Rodríguez San Pedro....' (Prólogo 22)

Unless Burgos was appropriately recertified as a *Profesora de Enseñanza Superior*, she would not be able to continue to teach at the Escuela Normal in Guadalajara (Núñez Rey, diss 31). It was as part of that process that she had her book, Moderno tratado de labores, officially recognized by the educational system. Yet remaining in Guadalajara was not Burgos's aim; since the termination of the course at the Colegio Nacional de Sordomudos y Ciegos in 1905, she had sought to be permanently reassigned to Madrid. In March, 1907, she left Guadalajara for a post in the Sección de Enseñanza de la Mujer in the Escuela Superior de Industrias in Madrid, but her re-certification was delayed and, as a result, she was instead re-assigned to Toledo.³⁰

Since Burgos was resistant to leaving Madrid, it is likely that she resumed her pattern of commuting to her teaching post because, not long after her commission in

³⁰ The novella El honor de la familia, written in 1911, suggests Burgos's reaction to the repressive atmosphere she found in Toledo. It will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Toledo, she was anonymously denounced to the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública. The statement avers that Burgos was apparently not dedicated to her teaching, citing her for "falta de asistencia a clase sin autorización, por no completar su horario de clases, por no haber dado tres conferencias que le restan de su viaje al extranjero como manda el reglamento, por no residir en Toledo" (Castañeda 30). There is not sufficient evidence available to show whether these charges were justified, or invented as part of the political harassment suggested by Núñez Rey. Burgos, however, responded that they were "'falsas calumnias anónimas de personas que pretenden, por fines que desconozco, dañarme en mi buen concepto profesional que tanto estimo'" (Burgos, Expediente de Maestra, in Castañeda 31). Her *expediente* was successful and she was exonerated of the charges as unproven and because of her "fama de persona de gran cultura y deseos de perfeccionar sus conocimientos en el extranjero" (Castañeda 31).

Burgos's career in the educational system may have suffered from her statements on divorce and her liberal activities both in and outside of Spain, but her literary reputation did not. In 1905, the year Burgos left Spain, she and Emilia Pardo Bazán had been the first women admitted to the Ateneo of Madrid. After her return in 1907, she met Eduardo Zamacois, who contracted with her to write for his new series, El cuento semanal, the prototype for the new

genre of the novela breve.³¹ As a contributor to its premier year, Burgos's name would be associated with such well known authors as Jacinto Octavio Picón, Jacinto Benavente, Felipe Trigo, and Emilia Pardo Bazán. Her burgeoning literary career, however, would hardly have remunerated her sufficiently to support her Madrid lifestyle with its famous tertulias, the "miércoles de Colombine."

As this dissertation has shown, the years in which Burgos established a publishing relationship with Sempere were characterized by paradox. She was increasingly desirable as an author, yet apparently anathema to the two principal Spanish cultural institutions: the Catholic Church and the educational system. Yet Burgos's first book for Sempere, Modelos de cartas, had established her as an author who would help him, one of the most active and influential publishers of the era, to attract a specifically female audience. As such, it established Burgos as one of the very few females among many important male novelists who were regular Sempere contributors. Furthermore, it promised to supply Burgos with additional regular income.

Sempere was the first major book publisher to claim Burgos's assumed domestic expertise for his inventory, but

³¹ El cuento semanal, while new in ways which will be discussed in Chapter 5, was also related to such traditional genres as the *folletín* and *novela por entregas*.

The first novella Burgos authored for El cuento semanal was El tesoro del castillo, the twenty-fifth issue in 1907, the inaugural year of the series.

he was certainly not the last.³² Nevertheless, his collaboration with Burgos in generating a woman's library resonated throughout her career. It both located her in a unique position from which to address women's issues and it enabled her to reach an audience different from the newspaper-reading public. Burgos had been a mother, a teacher, and, as a working journalist not living with her husband, a spokeswoman for unmarried and working-class women facing harsh economic realities. Purchasers of her Sempere books, however, would be unlikely to come from the working classes, as unlike working women, her buyers were sufficiently wealthy to purchase books, and they had the luxury of considering household management their primary concern. As she writes in El arte de ser amada (discussed

³² Over the course of Burgos's career, Sempere did not restrict his publication of her work to advice books for women, publishing as well novellas, novels, and collections of her interviews. The following works by Burgos, excluding the practical manuals which will be discussed separately, were published by Sempere: Cuentos de "Colombine", 1908; Los inadaptados, 1909 (a collection of stories containing, in addition to the eponymous one, "Amor de esposa," "¡Veinte años!", and "En la paz del campo"); La voz de los muertos, 1911; Leopardi, n.d. [1911]; Cartas sin destinatario, n.d. [1912]; En la guerra, n.d. [1912] (a collection of stories containing, in addition to the eponymous one, "La indecisa," "Siempre en tierra," "La justicia del mar," "El veneno del arte" and "El honor de la familia"); Al balcón, n.d. [1913, according to Palau; 1914, according to Cejador]; La malcasada, 1923; La mujer fantástica, 1924; Amadís de Gaula, n.d.

in Chapter 4), Burgos would communicate specifically with the "clase media acomodada" (168).

In addition to the financial advantage for Burgos, she garnered the prestige of being a Sempere author; through her published literary conversations with him, one of which I will discuss in the following chapter, she declared herself a player in the writing community. Burgos would go on to author, or "arrange," as she sometimes styled it, similar practical manuals for several publishers, some of which may have been connected to Sempere.³³ As I will discuss in the next chapter, Burgos occasionally disclaimed this work, but proudly reasserted its value in Sempere's publication of her Obras completas. Moreover, the existence of the Sempere series led to the ¿Quiere Usted...? women's collection

³³ The possible relationships among publishers is unclear. Sempere published Tesoro de la belleza as Volume I of Burgos's Obras completas (serie práctica). Its inclusion in that series indicates that it was part of the series Burgos prepared for Sempere. Yet, the original edition of that text was titled El arte de seducir and published by the Sociedad General Española de Librería.

The latter also published El arte de ser mujer (belleza y perfección) in the "Introducción" to which Burgos writes, "A veces hasta yo misma, a pesar de tener mi antifaz de Colombine, me he ocultado bajo otro disfraz, más tupido, y burlonamente aristocrático, de Condesa X, de Princesa X, o de Madame X, bajo los cuales, sin embargo, me ha sabido conocer el lector" (10).

The list of Burgos's works which appears in Al balcón, published by Sempere, includes La mujer en el hogar, but there is another edition published by Prometeo in the Biblioteca Nacional. Both appear to be the same except for the title page. There are, as well, Prometeo editions of La cocina moderna and Vademécum femenino, indicating a possible connection between Sempere and Prometeo, both of which were located in Valencia.

published by Sopena in Barcelona, which expanded Burgos's circulation in northern Spain.

Through her association with instructional domestic literature for women, Burgos has been considered a reluctant feminist who advocated personal and, eventually, political rights for women while continuing to support their role as housewives. Burgos's positions vis à vis the restriction of women to domestic functions will be discussed in the next two chapters. The remainder of this chapter will resolve bibliographical and chronological questions relating to the repetitive nature of the titles of her practical manuals, clarifying the roles played by Sempere and Sopena in the development of that domestic corpus.

The Sempere Series

The majority of the practical manuals Burgos wrote for Sempere were published without dates; in addition, the often repetitive nature of the titles of Burgos's books of advice has resulted in considerable confusion about her nonfiction corpus. Through careful examination of the texts, I have arrived at a plausible chronology of these works.

Contrary to certain estimated dates in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, and to Núñez Rey's attributions indicating that some of Burgos's "Manuales de uso práctico" were written as late as 1920, I have concluded that she probably composed most of her practical manuals for Sempere between 1905 and 1913. The back of the title page

in many of the texts bears the information, "Esta Casa Editorial obtuvo Diploma de Honor y Medalla de Oro en la Exposición Regional de Valencia de 1909," thus indicating that the texts so labelled post-date that Exposition. In several texts, that page carries the additional message, "y Gran Premio de Honor en la Internacional de Buenos Aires de 1910," leading me to conclude that the texts which convey that notice post-date those which mention 1909. I have determined the end-date of 1913 from a list of Burgos's published works appearing in Al balcón, a collection of her previously published newspaper articles issued as a book by Sempere. This text is dated to 1913 by Palau y Dulcet (470) and by the library of Pennsylvania State University; Cejador assigns it to 1914 (290). If Al balcón is, indeed, from 1913 or 1914, all of the works listed in it must pre-date its publication, thus placing them between 1909 or 1910 and 1913 or 1914, with Modelos de cartas, at least, dating as early as 1905.³⁴

Burgos, in addition, occasionally cited some of her own texts in others she prepared on related topics; her citations, where they appear, corroborate the order of published works appearing in Al balcón. Her footnotes, for example, make it possible to conclude definitively that

³⁴ Núñez Rey concurs in attributing Al balcón to 1913, but doesn't seem to have used the information available in it to re-date the manuals. Castañeda, as well, attributes Al balcón to 1913 in her Bibliography of Burgos's works (173).

Salud y belleza precedes El tocador práctico. In the edition of Vademécum femenino which I have studied, published by Prometeo (in 1918, according to Núñez Rey), she footnotes Arte de saber vivir and Las artes de la mujer, thus establishing that she wrote both of those prior to Vademécum femenino.³⁵ According to Sempere's list of "obras de la misma autora publicadas por esta casa" in Al balcón, however, an edition of Vademécum femenino was also published by Sempere and prior to Al balcón, hence prior to 1913 or 1914. Burgos establishes that El arte de ser amada post-dates 1911 by mentioning therein an event that occurred in 1911; the back of the title page lists Modelos de cartas, La cocina moderna, Arte de saber vivir, Salud y belleza, Las artes de la mujer, La mujer en el hogar and Vademécum femenino as previously prepared "arreglos" by the same author. In Arte de la elegancia, she cites La mujer en el hogar, Las artes de la mujer, and Arte de saber vivir as references, again confirming the order given in Al balcón. I have, therefore, concluded that the works prepared by Burgos for Sempere between the dates mentioned above include, in suggested chronological order, Modelos de cartas, La cocina moderna, Arte de saber vivir, Salud y belleza, Las artes de la mujer, La mujer en el hogar,

³⁵ In addition, Burgos includes in the text a letter written to her by Max Nordau and dated November, 1907 (123).

Vademécum femenino, El arte de ser amada, Arte de la elegancia, El tocador práctico, and La mujer jardinero.

Of those titles, the only ones I can assign to a specific year are Modelos de cartas, previously discussed, and La mujer en el hogar (economía doméstica): Guía de la buena dueña de casa, which is signed "Arreglada por Carmen de Burgos (Colombine)," and names Burgos as "Profesora de esta asignatura en la escuela superior de artes industriales de Madrid." Núñez Rey indicates that Burgos held that position from July 23, 1910 to January 1, 1911; consequently, the text must have been published during that period.

This does not mean, however, that Burgos's instructional guides were restricted to only the early years of her career. Sempere's post-1924 publication of her Obras completas is really a re-edition of the previously published practical series for women.³⁶ The first volume, Tesoro de la belleza (arte de seducir), states: "Desde 1924 que comienza la publicación de las obras completas de Carmen de Burgos, no podrán reimprimirse fuera de esta colección sus obras prácticas para la mujer." While in the past, Burgos had, in some instructional texts, denied her authorial responsibility by referring to them as "arreglos," in this

³⁶ The Obras completas editions did not include any of the fiction that had been published by Sempere. It seems that, in spite of its name, it was intended merely as a re-publication of Burgos's practical texts.

first volume of her "Obras completas," she reclaims the work as hers. By providing a new Prologue to this edition, Burgos at once reaffirms her authorship and reasserts the value of her practical manuals in what was, by that time, an extensive body of work:

Al comenzar ahora la publicación de mis obras completas, entre el gran número de novelas, de críticas, artículos y libros de viaje, no quiero dejar en el olvido esta serie de libros, de un interés especial para la mujer (5).

Volume I of the Obras completas, for which Burgos proudly claims authorship, is a re-edition of El arte de seducir, originally published under the pseudonym "Condesa de C***," possibly in 1916.³⁷ Burgos's authorial position vis à vis this and other practical texts will be discussed in the next chapter.

The second volume of this series was Ultimos modelos de cartas, a re-edition of Modelos de cartas, Burgos's first practical book prepared for Sempere's women readers. The third volume, Hablando con los descendientes, was published in 1929, ostensibly in the same series, using the same format and cover design, but by Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, S.A., Editorial Renacimiento in Madrid. The apparent change in publisher for the third volume of the series seems to signal the end of Burgos's long relationship with Sempere. The new publisher of Volume III of the "Obras completas" was also the publisher of the series La Novela de

³⁷ Madrid: Sociedad Española de Librería.

Hoy, for which Burgos wrote nine novellas between 1929 and 1932; it is likely, therefore, that there was a relationship between that change in publisher and Burgos's authorship of other works for Ibero-Americana in the same years.³⁸

Sempere's 1924 re-publication, under the title "Obras completas," of the practical manuals Burgos had written for him much earlier in her career is, I believe, an attempt to (re)claim exclusive publishing rights to her corpus for his editorial and to capture another generation of women readers with an apparent retrospective of the work of a woman author who had, by those years, achieved widespread popularity for her novellas. If his intention was to issue new editions of all of Burgos's work, the undertaking would indeed have been prodigious, for by the time of her death in 1932, Burgos had authored eighty-nine novellas, twenty-four practical manuals, eleven novels, and twenty-one nonnarrative works.³⁹

³⁸ The novels Burgos authored for La Novela de Hoy in those years were: Se quedó sin ella, February 8, 1929; El dorado trópico, February 7, 1930; ¡La piscina, la piscina!, May 9, 1930; Vida y milagros del pícaro Andresillo Pérez, December 26, 1930; La ironía de la vida, June 10, 1931; Perdónanos nuestras deudas, September 11, 1931; Puñal de claveles, November 13, 1931; Guiones del destino, March 4, 1932; Cuando la ley lo manda, April 29, 1932.

³⁹ This count is based on Núñez Rey's classifications and totals which do not account for the Sempere-Sopena repetition of texts, which I will explain in the next section, nor for works listed as novels which are really anthologies bearing the title of one of the novellas contained within.

The Sopena Series

My investigation of Burgos's practical manuals has made it apparent that Editorial Sopena in Barcelona, which, as Mainer established, was also involved in the promotion of contemporary foreign fiction, was equally interested in developing a bibliography of Burgos's books for women. Furthermore, even at first glance, the titles of the Sopena books written by Burgos bear a remarkable similarity to those published by Sempere: whereas Sempere published Modelos de cartas in 1905, and Ultimos modelos de cartas in the Obras completas series between 1924 and 1929, Sopena marketed Nuevos modelos de cartas. Sempere published La cocina moderna prior to 1913 and then its re-edition, La cocina práctica in the Obras completas in about 1925. In the interim, apparently, Sopena had published ¿Quiere usted comer bien?. Burgos reasserts the validity and promotes the sale of the Sempere Obras completas version, however, by declaring in that text: "Esta edición, única recomendada por su autora, contiene, seleccionadas y corregidas, todas las fórmulas de sus libros 'La Cocina Moderna' y '¿Quiere V. Comer Bien?' además de un gran número de nuevas recetas." Sopena seems to have won the competition for Burgos's last words on food, however, by producing a posthumous re-edition of ¿Quiere usted comer bien? in 1949. Sempere's Salud y belleza, from the 1910-1913 group, is repeated in Sopena's ¿Quiere usted ser bella y tener salud?; similarly, Sempere's

El arte de ser amada is echoed in Sopena's title ¿Quiere usted ser amada?. Sempere's El tocador práctico, again published between 1909 and 1913, probably precedes Sopena's similar ¿Quiere usted conocer los secretos del tocador?.

Books in Sopena's ¿Quiere V....? series, as in the case of the Sempere series of practical manuals, were published without dates. Unfortunately, in the Sopena works, there is little textual evidence by which to propose dates for the works. In ¿Quiere V. ser amada?, Burgos mentions others of that series as having been published "recientemente," so it is logical to assume that they were published within a few years of each other. The Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and the Núñez Rey dissertation concur in assigning the works to 1916 and 1917.

My further examination of these works reveals that the parallels between the Sempere and Sopena series extend beyond the similarity of the titles and into the works themselves. Indeed, I have verified that ¿Quiere V. ser bella y tener salud? is exactly the same text as Salud y belleza, and this is also true of the two books on "ser amada" and the "tocador." While I have not examined Modelos de cartas and Nuevos modelos de cartas because their content does not fall within the scope of this dissertation, I assume that the correspondence of titles indicates that they are also identical texts. The dates I have proposed for the Sempere works indicate that their publication precedes the

Sopena editions. I have not discovered any evidence that Sopena had the cooperation of either Sempere or Burgos in "borrowing" the texts.⁴⁰ Sopena's lists of Burgos's previously published works, however, mentions Al balcón, indicating that the Sopena books post-date its probable date of publication in 1913 or 1914. As might be expected, however, they do not include the parallel Sempere titles published prior to Al balcón. They do incorporate El arte de ser mujer, published by the Sociedad Española de Librería, for which Núñez Rey suggests the year 1920. Since El arte de ser mujer, accordingly, pre-dates the Sopena series, either its date must be earlier than 1920, or that series must be later than the estimated 1917.

There are only a few minor differences between the texts in the two series. Sopena consistently uses a larger font; as a result, their editions have more pages and the Indices have been appropriately re-numbered. In the Prologue to Sempere's El tocador práctico, which Burgos calls "Dos palabras," she cites her own Salud y belleza, "publicada por esta Casa Editorial" (vii). The same "Dos palabras" appears in the Sopena ¿Quiere V...? version, but without the citation referring to another Sempere text. In Salud y belleza, the word "Sprit" is used to discuss "coquetería" (Chapter XXI); the spelling has been changed to

⁴⁰ Carlos Serrano suggested that the practice existed by which Sopena might have bought the rights to this series from Sempere (conversation, 25 March 1998).

"Esprit" in ¿Quiere V. ser bella y tener salud? Sempere's edition of El tocador práctico was published with an error in the "Indice," numbering from Chapter VII to IX and omitting VIII; it ends with XXIII and an "Apéndice." Sopena has corrected that mistake, ending with XXII and the "Apéndice," and has reversed the order of a few of the chapters. As a consequence, Chapter XIV on "Los ojos" in the Sempere edition becomes XII in the Sopena version, thus maintaining "Los cuidados de la boca" as XIII in both texts. Similarly, by moving "La belleza de la mano" from XVII in the Sempere text to XV, "Cultura especial del cuerpo" is kept as XVI in both texts. In this case, Sopena has used the same font as Sempere for chapter headings, sub-headings, and text; the two texts appear almost identical. Sopena begins the text a little higher on the page, however, with the effect that the page-breaks fall in slightly different places in each. I also observed that in the chapter on "Los ojos" in Sempere's El tocador práctico, Burgos says "Los velos son muy perjudiciales para la vista" (131 emphasis mine); this has been misspelled as "vellos" in the Sopena edition (148).

It is tempting to speculate that this work, because of the similar physical appearance of both texts, was the first to be re-used by Sopena. It can be suggested that, perhaps in subsequent editions, and as a result of complaints from either Burgos or Sempere, Sopena decided to adopt a

different appearance for their texts. The only evidence I have seen of Burgos's cognizance of, and perhaps participation in, the Sopena series is the statement mentioned above in the Sempere "Obras completas" edition of La cocina práctica in which, speaking of herself in the third person, she cites both La Cocina Moderna and ¿Quiere V. comer Bien? as "sus libros" (title page). In any case, it is clear that, by re-issuing Burgos's works for women readers, Sopena had recognized their popularity and, consequently, taken advantage of the possibility of securing their portion of the female audience for his editorial.

Conclusions

Without knowing the degree of collaboration that occurred among Burgos, Sempere, and Sopena, we cannot determine whether the publication of Burgos's texts under different titles by different publishers involved deceit. It may well have resulted in additional payments from Sopena to Burgos. By modern standards it appears lacking in creative integrity, but it is incumbent on the reader not to condemn Burgos's possible role in the process of double-marketing her work. Rather, this discovery is new evidence of the measures Burgos might have been compelled to undertake in order to forge a financially beneficial literary career. The distribution of her work by two well known companies provided Burgos with the opportunity to be associated with great Spanish and foreign writers, it

disseminated her work through Barcelona as well as Valencia, created a potential following of women readers who might also read her novellas, and, almost certainly provided her with needed income.

Since Burgos apparently made her initial contact with Sempere shortly after her newspaper article on divorce, at a time when both her personal reputation and her teaching career were under attack, the impetus to claim expertise in the education of women and to identify herself with them by writing on domestic matters is clear. Her statements on divorce in the press had moved her into the ranks of that 'feminismo exagerado ... esa promiscuidad feminista' of which Ledesma Hernández had warned in the Prologue to her first work, Ensayos literarios, only a few years earlier. All authors are, to a certain extent, in search of a readership and, as a result, susceptible to the pressures of the tastes of the public. The high illiteracy rate among women meant that Burgos, writing for women, had a smaller potential pool of readers than her male colleagues. In addition, she was financially constrained to, as Ledesma Hernández had said, "vivir del favor del público." Writing a domestic series for Sempere was the kind of "oportunidad" referred to by Ledesma Hernández, whereby Burgos would probably gain readers, but lose "en subjetivismo y en independencia." As I will discuss in the next chapter, her textual comments to Sempere in the Prologue to La cocina

moderna aver that "El Arte ... no es un arte puro y libre...." (Ledesma Hernández v).

The significance of two major publishers, considered by Mainer to be an integral part of "la ruptura modernista," "sharing" Burgos's work is, I believe, apparent. Mainer's portrait of "La Edad de Plata" overlooks the increasing female readership of which those publishers were obviously well aware, presenting instead a unidimensional view of a male, presumably intellectual, audience. Sempere and Sopena made a deliberate effort to assemble a female constituency, to the extent that they both publicized Burgos as one of their authors. Although Sempere published Burgos's fiction as well as her nonfiction, it was her "how-to" books that he specifically directed to the female audience by including them under the rubric, "Biblioteca para la mujer." His vision of female readers, then, was one of women who needed or desired to improve their domestic skills.

In the following chapter, I shall consider Sempere's proposal to Burgos that she write a cookbook, an offer someone in her economic position was not likely to refuse. As a woman who was responsible for the financial support of herself and her child, she would certainly have been susceptible to economic oppression which might have led her to accept such an assignment. Burgos lived in a strongly patriarchal society in which women were culturally dominated, denied legal rights, and stereotyped as uniquely

designed for and capable of only familial and domestic duties. The scarcity of women in the literary world deprived Burgos, as well as Sempere, of models for a female author's literary production. These "messages of inferiority" are what Bartky calls "special modes of psychic alienation" (23). The following chapter will consider whether Burgos's domestic manuals express such psychic alienation or, instead, testify to the author's conscious appraisal of her literary circumstances.

CHAPTER 3
WRITING DOMESTICITY AND PROBLEMS OF AUTHORSHIP

Introduction

Burgos's nontraditional life made her susceptible to attack on many levels. It is possible that she contributed to the misconceptions and controversy which characterized her as an individual by furnishing misleading details about her life.¹ Her character was probably publicly blemished, as well, by such contemporaries as Cansinos-Assens who later perpetuated the innuendoes in his diaries.² The tendency for

¹ The misunderstanding regarding Burgos's age is an example of confusion she created: her colleagues at El liberal maintained that she was born in 1879, which seems to have been the information she gave. Núñez Rey determined, however, that Burgos was baptized in 1867, so 1867 is now accepted as that of her birth. Starcevic points out the disparities perpetuated by texts which mention Burgos: Granjel assigned Burgos's birth to 1879, Cejador to 1876, and the Diccionario de Literatura española edited by the Revista de Occidente to 1878 (Defensora 39).

Starcevic's text suggests that Burgos might have hoped to make her relationship with Gómez de la Serna (1888-1963) less scandalous, at least to their literary colleagues, by narrowing their age difference.

² Núñez Rey frequently demonstrates the inaccuracy of Cansinos's remarks. For example, she explains his assertion that Burgos traveled to America during World War I to escape a scandal provoked by the publication of El abogado in which Eduardo Barriobero apparently recognized himself as the title character. Núñez Rey points out that the novel in question was not published until 1915 and that Burgos's trip took place in 1913 thanks to a grant from the Junta de Ampliación de Estudios. She asserts that Cansinos's information is based on "los juicios insidiosos que difundían los maledicentes" and laments that "las memorias

members of the literary establishment to portray Burgos in a negative manner has continued even into the last decade of the twentieth century. In Juan Manuel de Prada's 1997 novel Las máscaras del héroe, the protagonist impugns Burgos's honesty and morality, as had Cansinos-Assens.³ Federico

de Cansinos ofrecieram [sic] una imagen tan deformada de la autora" (58).

Cansinos was a contemporary of Burgos, but La novela de un literato was written in 1957 at the behest of Aguilar. The three-volume work covering the years from 1882 to 1936 was purportedly based on his diaries.

³ In de Prada's novel, the fictional protagonist/narrator Pedro Luis de Gálvez (who was a real author in that period) calls Burgos an "escritora sin gracia, partidaria acérrima de una república federal, sufragista y algo machorra." In a single sentence, de Prada's character reiterates the canonical defamations of Burgos, maligning her writing, her politics and her femininity. He continues, impugning her honesty as well as her appearance: "Firmaba Carmen de Burgos sus obras con el seudónimo de Colombine, que parecía haber elegido su enemigo más burlón, pues nada recordaba en la escritora esa aura de inquietante misterio que atribuimos a la amada de Pierrot. Ella se excusaba con etimologías latinas:

--Firmo Colombine porque en mi corazón late una paloma.

Podría latirle una paloma o un guacamayo de la selva amazónica, pero a la envoltura de carne le sobraban arrobos por los cuatro costados. Carmen de Burgos, Colombine, recorría los Círculos Culturales pronunciando conferencias para un público femenino en las que se empezaba vindicando el divorcio y se terminaba, en medio de un frenesí de aplausos, instaurando un régimen de matriarcado donde no se excluyesen el amor sáfico y la castración. Antes de aceptarla como inquilina, mi padre le hizo prometer que no llevaría al caserón compañías poco recomendables ni organizaría saraos tumultuosos. Colombine no vaciló:

--Se lo prometo, pierda usted cuidado.

Pero, por supuesto, incumplió su promesa desde el primer día." (51)

Contrary to the accusations de Prada attributes to his narrator, my investigation has not revealed any evidence of support by Burgos for homosexual love nor castration, although she did sanction heterosexual unmarried unions. De Prada's attribution of the these words to someone who was a well-known author at the time is particularly damaging to

Utrera's Memorias de Colombine: la primera periodista (1998) is a more sympathetic treatment of her place in the early twentieth-century Spanish literary world, but the author's incorporation of the words of others, for example Cansinos-Assens's, into what is purportedly Burgos's narrative merely continues the misinformation that surrounds her.⁴

Because of Burgos's controversial progressive views, she was particularly vulnerable to conservative attempts to discredit her political opinions as well as her behavior. Such criticism accelerated after the Spanish Civil War with revelations of her participation in the Masonic movement, anathema to Franco's project for a Spain rooted in traditional Roman Catholic doctrine (Billoch).⁵ It was inevitable that attacks on Burgos's ideology would have

Burgos.

⁴ Utrera writes the Memorias as if he were Burgos, thus adding autobiographical authenticity to a text which often relies upon other sources. He attributes the following, clearly based upon Cansino-Assens's text, to her: "El joven poliglota tiene la imagen de mí que corre por Madrid: Colombine, la dama roja, la... bueno, la antigua de Blasco Ibáñez que dispone, como de cosa propia, de la editorial Sempere" (72).

⁵ Billoch's article states that Burgos founded "La Logia 'Amor'" 2 December 1931 (84). In the article, female Masonic lodges are accused of intensifying "el fervor laico entre sus afiliadas. Los discursos, las frases, todo tiende a cultivar la rebeldía espiritual de la mujer, a emanciparla de la llamada tiranía religiosa" (74). In addition, they were purported to stimulate the passions. The women sang songs which "harían enrojecer a un mono" (75).

The article was published 31 August 1939 which, it states, was the "Año de la victoria." Thus, the political perspective from which the article was written is clear.

carried over to denigrate her writing. Burgos's place as an author, however, should ultimately be determined by the literary choices she could and did make.

Ideological paradoxes in Burgos's obra have been pointed out by a modern critic of Spanish turn-of-the-century literature, María Pilar Rodríguez. In a 1998 article, she writes that Burgos's refutation of "los principios fundamentales de la independencia femenina," is incongruous with her recommendation of "el matrimonio y la maternidad como la fórmula más deseable de desarrollo femenino" in the domestic manuals (382). This dissertation examines similar issues, but it locates Burgos within the context of her marginal position as one of the rare women trying to fashion an economically viable writing career. It considers Burgos's authorship of instructional literature for women in the context of her economic state, her desire to write, and the dominance of the domestic ideology.

This chapter will focus on the principal problems of authorship which have surrounded Burgos's production of domestically-oriented literature for women. The insinuations of others have frequently stimulated questions about Burgos's credibility; those issues will be examined. The chapter will scrutinize, as well, some of Burgos's statements on her creative role in the production of prescriptive literature for women.

In the practical texts, Burgos often utilizes extra-textual material such as Prologues and Introductions to comment on her role as author of literature designed for the female reader. Such glossing explicates her position vis à vis the content of the text to follow. This chapter will examine several of the extra-textual statements in which Burgos expresses differing attitudes toward the value of the work she is producing, thus indicating a tension between her actual output and her desired literary goals. Through an interrogation of the "Carta Prólogo" to La cocina moderna, it will develop an interpretation of Burgos's authorial position as she perceived it early in her career. An examination of the "Preliminar" to El arte de seducir, written after Burgos had produced some fictional texts, reveals her consciousness that instructional manuals for women were called "frívola y ligera."

Prologue: "¡Diablo de Sempere!"

Conversations in which an author and an editor delineate the text they are producing are often kept between them. In the case of the editorial dialogue between Carmen de Burgos and Francisco Sempere, however, readers are let in more than once on her side of the discussion.⁶ In a "Carta Prólogo" to La cocina moderna [1906-1909], Burgos putatively

⁶ Another occasion in which Burgos directly addressed Sempere is the "Dedicatoria" to him in Al balcón [1913?], a collection of articles which had previously appeared in various newspapers. Since it does not relate to the practical manuals, it will not be discussed here.

responds to a letter from Sempere requesting that she prepare a cookbook. As Burgos's second work in the Sempere series of practical works for women, La cocina moderna is evidence of his continuing interest in employing her as a regular contributor.⁷ It is obvious from the publication of the work that Burgos agreed to undertake it, but the "Carta Prólogo" insinuates that she did not wish to associate her name with a cookbook without commenting on her decision to do so.

Burgos's public response provides a unique perspective on her attitude toward the authorship of this and, by extension, other practical manuals she prepared. Written early in her career, this Prologue reveals Burgos's consciousness of her position in the literary hierarchy. This section will analyze the Prologue as a statement of the self-conscious position Burgos takes as an author in Sempere's Serie práctica para la mujer.

In the "Carta Prólogo," Burgos apprises the (presumably female) reader that Sempere's "demanda de escribir un libro de cocina" evoked in her a "[s]orpresa grandísima" (v). A modern reader who has been exposed to feminist literary interpretations might anticipate such a reaction from a well-known journalist with a history of supporting expanded rights for women. Burgos intimates, however, that her surprise does not spring from indignation at being asked to

⁷ Modelos de cartas was the first.

prepare such a traditionally "female" work. She differentiates herself from her arrogant (presumably male) colleagues, "genios al uso," writing: "[f]uera genio al uso, y mi sorpresa llegaría al enojo, capaz de romper la antigua y leal amistad, asombro de autores que no conocen editor tan rumboso y campechano..." (v).⁸ Unlike the temperamental geniuses, in style at that time, who might have been offended by Sempere's request, Burgos's response is purportedly caused by his divination of her cooking ability: "¡Diablo de Sempere! ... ha adivinado que guiso mejor que escribo."

Burgos structures a comparison between two of her talents in which her culinary abilities transcend her writing skills. What explanations can be offered for the fact that a journalist like Burgos, who had published three books and was writing daily articles for Madrid newspapers on a variety of topics, would praise her domestic proficiency at the expense of her writing expertise? A possible interpretation is found in Sandra Bartky's definition of women's psychic alienation as it appears in Femininity and Domination. She explains that psychologically oppressed groups, among which she includes colonized peoples and women, "come to exercise harsh

⁸ My interpretation of this sentence is based on an understanding of "fuera" as the imperfect subjunctive of the verb *ser*, that is, "[si yo] fuera...." It should be remembered that *genio* suggests both talent and bad temper.

dominion over their own self-esteem" (22). Burgos was operating in a domain--writing--dominated by the group of genios to which she alludes in the Prologue. Her condition as a "colonized" subject in that realm might explain her apparently enthusiastic affirmation of Sempere's presumption of domestic competence.

Furthermore, to her literary contemporaries as well as the public, Burgos's name affixed to the translation of Moebius's La inferioridad mental de la mujer must have associated her with the prevailing ideology: Moebius contended that women had smaller brains than men and that, as a result, they were incapable of rational thought. His text was considered by many to be the scientific proof justifying the continued restriction of women to the domestic sphere. Although Burgos did not accept that his research confirmed women's inferiority, neither did she contest the underlying premise of biological determinism and women's domestic destiny.³ How then could she and other

³ In the "Prólogo de la traductora" to La inferioridad mental, Burgos makes clear her negative view of Moebius's work, stating that she tried to "despojar[se] de todos los prejuicios" because "era tanto el escándalo de que venía precedido" (5). She asserts, contrary to the author's conclusions, that translating a controversial work of science does not intimidate her: "pude penetrar seriamente en las deducciones atrevidas del neurópata" (5).

Burgos avoids directly confronting the issue of "a qué sexo corresponde la superioridad mental," yet casts doubt on Moebius's conclusions, asserting that "el autor no logra llevar al espíritu un completo convencimiento, sin duda porque la antropología y la biología no se hallan aún azas adelantadas para sentar principios absolutos" (10). Nonetheless, she does not challenge the notion of gender-

women claim that their writing skills, which required rational thought and worldly experiences, merited the awarding of literary contracts?

Cooking, unlike journalism, was situated within the supposedly intuitive realm for which women were purported to be biologically suited. A long cultural tradition had equipped them to move comfortably in that zone, in which they were expected to both achieve and profess mastery. It is certainly possible that, early in her career, Burgos found writing to be a more arduous exercise than cooking. Under such circumstances, she may well have been voicing genuine doubts about her authorial ability to meet the writing expectations of an editor as significant as Sempere.

It is obvious that Burgos eventually became aware of the implications of authorial weakness inherent in this statement. Sempere's Obras completas [1925?] re-edition of La cocina práctica, was promoted on the title page as "Esta edición, *UNICA recomendada por su autora*, contiene seleccionadas y corregidas, todas las fórmulas de sus libros La cocina moderna y ¿Quiere V. comer bien?" It advertised

determined roles, writing that "[l]a diversa aptitud de los dos sexos no indica inferioridad en ninguno de ellos, sino modalidades diferentes, armónicas y necesarias para la marcha de la humanidad" (10). Furthermore, she affirms the essentialist concept that "la mujer tiene un papel activo de excepcional importancia, admirablemente determinado dentro de su sexo" (11).

the inclusion of the "Carta Prólogo a la primera edición."¹⁰ While the impression created is that the Prologue is reprinted from that edition, it now states, "¡Diablo de Sempere! ¿Cómo ha adivinado que guiso lo mismo que escribo?" (emphasis added). As a more established author, Burgos apparently no longer deemed it necessary to profess the superiority of her cooking skills.

It is likely, however, that Burgos's averred humility early in her career was the result of a pragmatic appraisal of her position in the literary hierarchy. The rare woman author in Spain was at constant risk of societal condemnation, open to being called anything from "marisabidilla" to "marimacho." And Burgos had taken on the traditionally male role of sustaining home and family, making her femininity especially susceptible to censure. She could hope to minimize such criticism by emphasizing her commonality with other housewives and by downplaying her worldly experience. As a result, she locates her proficiency in the kitchen instead of at the desk, assuring Sempere in the letter that the paragraphs she is sending are "muestra elocuente de mi culinaria erudición" (vi). Her previous expression of authorial modesty, then, appears to be a deliberate *prise de position* aimed more at her readers than at Sempere, the stated *destinatario* of the letter.

¹⁰ It is interesting to note that this text evidences the participation of Ramón Gómez de la Serna: a drawing showing Spain's regional specialties bears his signature.

Thus, it is possible that Burgos genuinely lacked the confidence to proclaim her expertise in the field for which she was publicly known, but it is more likely that she cannily structured a niche from which she could assert her domestic authority to other women.¹¹

Such a strategy would explain why she chooses to insist on her cooking prowess, praising her culinary abilities in both national and foreign dishes, "capaces de hacer que se chupen los dedos los que los saboreen." Rather than emphasize her reputation as a hostess of sophisticated literary tertulias, she focuses instead on her domestic life, writing that her pleasure comes "viendo el gusto y apetito con que los [platos] rebaña mi familia."

In an early twentieth-century Spanish context, Burgos's reference to her family, sitting around the table licking their fingers to fully savor her meals, would have evoked the image of a happy domestic scene of a mother, a father, and several children. In Burgos's case, however, the husband and father was absent; thus, the family consisted of herself, her daughter, and sometimes her sister Catalina. It is not known whether, in Burgos's early years in Madrid, her audience would have been aware that she had initiated the separation which resulted in her single-parent status.

¹¹ It is interesting to note that after Emilia Pardo Bazán's less than successful attempt to structure a Biblioteca de la mujer on feminist readings, she produced two cookbooks. Modern editions are still available in Madrid.

Nevertheless, at the very least, the woman who would be advising other women from the pages of this book was known, by the time of its publication, for her newspaper articles, her teaching, her travel, and her stand in favor of divorce.

While her nontraditional paradigm presumably would not be a problem for the editor contracting with her for her writing expertise, her audience might well have noticed the discontinuity between her life and her recommendations.¹² It is perhaps to counter potential criticism that Burgos reassures Sempere that she finds domestic tasks very important: "Le confieso a usted en secreto que a veces dejo la pluma porque siento la nostalgia de la cocina." Of course, this ostensibly secret confession to Sempere was not secret at all, for the inclusion of the letter in the text opens it to her readers as well. Lacking the resources to employ others, necessity may have occasionally drawn Burgos

¹² The similarity to Martha Stewart, a contemporary "diva of domesticity" who has also separated from her husband, comes to mind. Stewart, whose career situates her in the public eye, must have difficulty sustaining for herself the domestic values she espouses. Indeed, if she finds domesticity as rewarding as she claims, why has she persevered in committing herself to a sphere which necessitates the abandonment of her own hearth?

Aside from whatever personal motivation she might have, it is reported that her empire is worth about \$150 million. In a television interview, Bryant Gumble suggested that Stewart spends most of her time on the set of her television studio in Westport, Connecticut, a replica of her home kitchen (Stewart).

back to the kitchen.¹³ It is unlikely, however, given the effort with which she constructed her writing career, that she longed to abandon it to return to her former domestic situation. But this confession, true or not, would have inspired empathy for Burgos from her female public; her professed yearning to substitute their work for hers would have reaffirmed their housewifely value.

Burgos utilizes the Prologue to La cocina moderna in order to position her authorship of the text within the context of her relationship to Sempere. In praising their friendship, she flatters him as generous and genial. Sempere had helped her by publishing a volume which included her Rome lecture on "La mujer en España" [1906] together with the laudatory comments Burgos received in the Spanish, French, and Italian press. In the speech, Burgos attacked the traditional Catholic doctrine on the role of women and reiterated her support for divorce.¹⁴ The apparent

¹³ Burgos's sister Catalina lived with her in Madrid, facilitating Carmen's career by assuming some of the domestic responsibilities of the household.

¹⁴ The lecture was given in the *Asociación de la Prensa Italiana* on 28 April 1906. In it, Burgos claimed that women were not the "escorpiones venenosos y perniciosas hidras de que huían los padres de la Iglesia" nor the "encarnación de una castidad contraria a la Naturaleza" (31). She asserted that the lack of divorce is a greater disadvantage to women than to men and publicized her book, *Divorcio en España*.

Burgos raised several other controversial issues in the speech, emphasizing the difference between "la leyenda del país de opereta que se suele presentar" and "la realidad tristísima" of Spanish women (10). She addressed the poverty and servidumbre of rural women, particularly in Andalucía; the inequality of the distribution of wealth

acceptance of such controversial notions in the homeland of Catholicism would likely have facilitated Burgos's opportunity to voice similar ideas in Spain. Moreover, since Burgos had experienced difficulties with the educational system and the Catholic Church before leaving Spain, Sempere's support would presumably have made it more difficult for those institutions to censure her publicly.

It is clear from the "Carta prólogo" that Sempere is offering Burgos the opportunity to write a second book in what would be a developing series of practical guides for women. Her economic circumstances were a constant concern for Burgos, and this must have been a very attractive proposal. The chances for success of this book, and the possibility of writing more, would be enhanced by cultivating her credibility as an advisor to other women. Potential benefits inhered in her ability to represent the dominant masculinist ideology she apparently repudiated.

among the Spanish regions and classes; and feudal aspects of Spanish culture. She lamented the lack of physical education for women and the absence of coeducation which perpetuated a male vision of women as "mitad odalisca mitad virgen cristiana" (41).

Yet, while denouncing that stereotype, Burgos echoes another in denying women the right to vote: "ahora darle el derecho de voto es poner un arma peligrosa en manos de un niño." She moderates that infantilization, "Claro que no por ser mujer, sino por ser ignorante" (46). Nevertheless, the connection between women and juvenile behavior has been made.

While proclaiming that "el porvenir depende de la unión y la competencia es perjudicial siempre," (20-21) she attacks "el ejército de feministas exaltadas" (30) who, in her opinion, suffer the "funestos delirios de *igualdad* entre los dos sexos" (30).

That realization no doubt encouraged Burgos to downplay the difference between the wage-earning public path she was pursuing and the unpaid private one she would write for others. The possible reward for convincing both Sempere and readers of her appreciation for and abilities as a "buena dueña de casa" was great (La mujer en el hogar). She appeared to be taking to heart Ledesma Hernández's warning that "el escritor que se decide a buscar lectores, tiene que vivir del favor del público..." (v).

"[A]cepto el encargo..."

Since Burgos had already challenged the ideology of domesticity in her writing as well as in her personal life, her authorship of a book on cooking could not but present ideological problems. Cooking, especially in homes without servants, implied women's work within the domestic space; authoring a cookbook could be seen as supporting their restriction to that realm. Accordingly, while praising herself in the "Carta Prólogo" as an appropriate choice to author the book, Burgos also distances herself from the project, underscoring Sempere's role as its initiator. Figuratively placing her discourse within brackets, she opens and closes by remarking that he has asked her to undertake the preparation of this cookbook. Her Prologue is virtually a contractual agreement to the terms he has proposed, which she makes clear in her closing words:

"acepto el encargo de arreglar el libro de cocina que me indica."

"[H]ace de la pluma aguja"

Drawing immediate attention to her inferior position in the editor-author power relationship, Burgos's first sentence states that preparing a cookbook is "nada de extraordinario" for one who "trabajando como obrera, hace de la pluma aguja para ganar el sustento." This metaphor is best explained in light of the historical circumstances of working women in early twentieth-century Spain.

The need to work was considered humiliating for women of all but the lowest classes, but some work for literate women was gaining a limited degree of respectability. The job of *costurera*, or seamstress, remained low in the employment hierarchy: it indicated a complete lack of academic education and the need to perform domestic tasks for other women rather than for oneself.¹⁵ Burgos considered the tedious work of clothing repair as particularly monotonous, having referred to it in a 1904 work which will be discussed below as the "pesado trabajo de costura" (Moderno tratado de labores 2). Yet, she claimed to regard more artistic sewing, *las labores*, as "obras de arte" which "satisfacen la aspiración de realizar la belleza, y sirven de entretenimiento agradable en la vida

¹⁵ Burgos illustrates the position of *costurera* within the hierarchy of female employment in La rampa.

monótona que la mujer está generalmente obligada a soportar" (2).

In referring to herself as a *costurera*, Burgos leaves behind her roles as journalist and intellectual. Her pen becomes a wage-earning tool; like the needle, it may be a creative one, but it is limited in its authority and potential for gaining artistic and financial recognition. By implying that she is undertaking this project as if it were an allotment of piecework, she also implies that she regards her authorial possibilities as restricted, thus indicating her lack of autonomy within the male-dominated literary power structure. Moreover, by portraying herself as an *obrero*, she equates herself to other women of restricted possibilities, thereby endeavoring to ingratiate herself to them.

The processes of both writing and reading this text involve the repetition of language that, as Leo Bersani writes, "'doesn't merely describe identity but actually produces moral and perhaps even physical identity'" (qtd. in Gilbert and Gubar 11). By preparing a cookbook, Burgos reproduces the ideology which assumes that domestic chores are uniquely women's responsibility. Furthermore, modeling women's innate suitability for the domestic role, she appears to advocate the tenets of biological essentialism prevalent in her day. At the same time, she supports the notion that many women need assistance to better perform the

domestic role allotted them by society in spite of their being, according to the same sources, uniquely suited for it.

This text, like other practical manuals she wrote, is generated by but also produces a domesticating process. Burgos's contract to prepare this book is a tacit agreement that she will participate in that process, but she partially resists proclaiming the text hers. By insisting on Sempere's paternity of the text, she attributes to him at least part of the responsibility for recreating the model of the "angel of the hearth."

From the perspective of modern feminist criticism, Burgos's consciousness of the similarity between the pen and the needle evokes Gilbert and Gubar's comparison of the pen to the sword. Addressing the creative process among nineteenth-century women authors, they say that the pen "is not only mightier than the sword, it is also like the sword in its power--its need, even--to kill." They link this destructive attribute of the pen to "metaphorical maleness" (14).

The needle, while traditionally considered a female tool, possesses physical attributes similar to those of the sword. Unlike the sword's connection to maleness and destruction, however, the needle's association with women's hands links it to creativity and production. Yet, particularly in Burgos's era, it often signified women's

labor performed in the domestic territory and in the service of others. As such, it implied a restricted dominion. For Burgos, as the following pages will show, it is an appropriate signifier of her conditions of authorship in early twentieth-century Spain: literary creation is not impossible, but it is circumscribed by the omnipresence of domesticity and by male domination of literary production.

An examination of one of Burgos's first books, Moderno tratado de labores (1904), contributes to a clarification of her understanding of the role of the needle in the production and economy of the turn-of-the-century Spanish woman. This small volume is an illustrated instruction manual for decorative hand-stitching.¹⁶ In it, Burgos advocates the continued teaching of this traditional subject in the schools and urges women to persist in learning and practicing it. These recommendations appear to support domestically-oriented educational goals for women, but Burgos's emphasis is another. She wishes to promote the aesthetic advantages of hand-made over machine-made objects. In this context, the manual becomes a defense of hand-sewing, traditionally creative and often income-producing for women, from competition by the sewing machine.

¹⁶ In the text, Burgos differentiates "labores de adorno" such as "bordados" from "la costura, calceta, remiendos, zurcidos, etc." (3). She considers labores an art form for which it is necessary to study "la pintura y la perspectiva" (4).

Sewing machines had recently been modernized to use electric rather than pedal power, leading to a process of relocation from home to factory, where electricity could be better utilized. As public places, factories were not considered appropriate locations for women's work; if this trend continued unchecked, men would gain economic and creative control in a historically female domain. Their objects would be assembled at greater speed than hand-sewn ones, but would be of lower quality and less artistic merit.

Hand-stitching enabled women to produce both decorative and utilitarian objects in the private sphere. They could acquire the skill in school or from each other; as such, it was work available to various socio-economic levels. Middle-class women, for whom "real" (income-producing) employment was not an option, could demonstrate their economic value and satisfy, to a certain extent, their artistic bent by fabricating items for their homes. Upper-class women could allow lower-class women into their homes to stitch for them; there they would, presumably, be able to work under safe conditions. It was, therefore, considered an appropriate form of productivity and one in which some women helped others to improve their economic circumstances. The sewing machine represented a possible threat to one of the few income-producing domains reserved for females; in celebrating the benefits of hand-sewing, Burgos is also

attempting to protect the limited empowerment available to them.

For Burgos, a needle in a woman's hand represents a realm of artistic creativity that is restricted in its possibilities, less rewarded, and endangered by male dominance, but for all that, it is women's domain. In this light, the needle is a metaphor applicable to Burgos's literary production of practical manuals: she would write on domestic topics assigned to women authors by publishers like Sempere, yet she would attempt to protect and expand women's options through them; she would rely upon them for her sustenance; and she would recognize that she was, in this genre, a "worker" and not an "author."

"Necesidad de guía"

Burgos's Prologue to La cocina moderna confirms Sempere's active involvement in the selection of the theme for at least one of the conduct manuals written early in the series. Nonetheless, in a later text, La mujer jardinero, Burgos suggests in the Introduction that "una biblioteca para la mujer tan completa como la que ofrece esta Casa" was incomplete without a book on gardening. Although she hints at having played some part in the choice of this or other topics, it is important to assign responsibility for thematic decisions in the Sempere and Sopena series with caution: the titles of Burgos's texts cannot be assumed to

accurately represent her individual literary choices vis à vis the "necesidad de guía" of Spanish women (de León 9).¹⁷

The topics, whether chosen by Burgos or Sempere, would have been predicated on the assumption that the growing female readership would respond to a perceived informational vacuum in corresponding areas. Since Sopena (and Burgos's other publishers) also solicited and reproduced these instructional texts, we can assume that women, indeed, bought them and read them. Their titles delineate an area in which Burgos's publishers and, probably to a lesser extent, Burgos herself assumed women's interest to reside. At the least, they reflect the author's complicity in the literary system which determined that turn-of-the-century Spanish women "needed" guidance toward the "better" womanhood to which Bartky refers.

The titles of Burgos's conduct texts are less coercive than that of La perfecta casada in insinuating that a woman concentrate solely on becoming a "perfect wife." They do, nevertheless, proclaim that the domestic sphere is at the

¹⁷ This citation from Fray Luis de León's La perfecta casada appears in the following context: "Este nuevo estado en que Dios ha puesto a vuestra merced, sujetándola a las leyes del sancto matrimonio, aunque es como camino real, más abierto y menos trabajoso que otros, pero no carece de sus dificultades y malos pasos, y es camino adonde se tropieza también, y se peligra y yerra, y que tiene necesidad de guía como los demás...." (9).

Since the Sopena series was a republication of texts prepared for the Sempere series, Burgos's degree of thematic choice is an equal concern in both.

nucleus of the Biblioteca para la mujer.¹⁸ Titles such as El arte de ser amada and La mujer en el hogar presuppose, as clearly as does La perfecta casada, that women's fulfillment lies in acquiring a man and a home of her own.¹⁹ In light of women's limited property rights and earning potential, the only culturally acceptable option was to marry. In order to be assured a domestic domain in which she could play a role, albeit fixed, she needed to appear attractive as a spouse. Burgos's preparation of an extensive corpus dedicated to this end, the inventory of the texts in her other works (including novels), and the choice to write many of them under her real name, certainly identify her with the advancement of the dominant domestic ideology.

The multiple editions of these texts (produced by Sopena and others) cause them to represent a substantial proportion of Burgos's literary corpus.²⁰ Their significance, however, must be framed within the context of

¹⁸ Sempere also published Burgos's fiction, so it cannot be assumed that he considered this *Serie Práctica* to be the only reading suitable for women. These texts, however, are grouped together and titled so as to create the impression of their unique appropriateness for the woman reader.

¹⁹ Burgos's earliest text to challenge traditional domesticity, El divorcio en España (1904), was not published by Sempere. Neither was La mujer moderna y sus derechos (1927). As a result, the Biblioteca para la mujer maintains its domestic homogeneity.

²⁰ It appears that Burgos authored 27 practical manuals when the multiple editions, re-prints, and updated versions are counted. When they are subtracted, however, the quantity is reduced to 16.

Burgos's place as a colonized subject in the Spanish culture of the early twentieth century and, particularly, in that of the literary establishment. By leaving her husband and undertaking a writing career, Burgos did, indeed, initiate what Bartky calls feminist changes in behavior. It may well be, however, that the economic oppression she suffered and her marginal position in the literary world prevented her from developing a "radically altered consciousness" of herself (12).

"Libros originales," "Arreglos," "Traducciones"

Burgos's statements in the Prologue to La cocina moderna insinuate that she was cognizant of occupying an ambiguous position: that of writing as an authority to other women on traditionally female topics while fashioning for herself a traditionally male career. This Prologue is but one example of the extra-textual information which contributes to the impression of a problematic association between Burgos and the practical manuals.

In some cases, it is not Burgos's extra-textual discourse, but rather the paucity or contradictory character of such paratextual data as bibliographic information which complicates the study of her connection to the instructional texts. Chapter 2 of this dissertation addresses such problems as the difficulty of establishing a chronology of Burgos's works resulting from the absence of publication dates and the republication of texts. In addition, some of

the paratextual information in Burgos's texts is characterized by discrepancies obscuring the particulars of her degree of creative responsibility.

In Burgos's works, the text is frequently preceded by lists of her previous writings and appearances; it is likely that this information was prepared by the publisher. Such enumerations of the practical manuals often create an additional impediment to discerning Burgos's creative role, for they sometimes differ from one book to another. These lists arrange Burgos's texts into several genres; occasionally the works mentioned are only those published by the same editorial, but often the inventory appears to be more complete. The names of the divisions vary from text to text with the categories becoming more numerous as her career advances. The classifications were expanded from four in La mujer en España (*Originales, Conferencias, Traducciones, En preparación*) to nine in Quiero vivir mi vida (*Novelas, Viajes, Críticas, Novelas cortas, Varios, Conferencias, Traducciones, Biblioteca para la mujer, En prensa*).

This dissertation has previously addressed the appearance of Modelos de cartas under the heading Traducciones in La mujer en España (1906), Burgos's first work to be published by Sempere. In 1931, Biblioteca Nueva published Burgos's last work, the novel Quiero vivir mi

vida.²¹ That edition contains an apparently complete three-page bibliography of "Obras de la autora" in which Traducciones are itemized, but do not include Modelos de cartas nor any conduct manual.²² Instead, a separate category has been created for them. Called Biblioteca para la mujer, it is described as "Numerosos libros originales y arreglos de obras prácticas para la mujer, como «El tesoro de la belleza», «Vademécum femenino», «Las artes de la mujer», «El arte de la elegancia», etc. etc."²³ If Burgos had once considered Modelos a translation, she (or her publisher) reconsidered that interpretation in a work of fiction published late in her career. What circumstances of Burgos's authorial position might explain the relocation of Modelos de cartas from the category of translated works to a new one? And, more importantly, what are the modern implications of the apparently indiscriminate use of the terms "libros originales," "arreglos," and "traducciones"? The significance of these terms will be discussed in the next section.

²¹ Burgos dedicated this novel to Dr. D. Gregorio Marañón, who wrote its Prologue.

²² The habitual use of the Traducciones classification indicates that Burgos or her publishers considered them an important facet of her work.

²³ As this citation indicates, the "etc." appears in the text. The grouping does not specify which works were considered to be "arreglos" and which to be "libros originales."

"Traducciones"

Chapter two of this dissertation addresses the issue of Burgos's participation in what some authors considered the undesirable "business" of translating. Burgos, unlike contemporaries such as Rafael Cansinos-Assens, neither denigrated nor concealed that aspect of her work. Instead, she proclaimed her role as translator on the title page of many works by well-known contemporaneous authors, philosophers, and scientists. If Burgos did translate some or all of the Sempere/Sopena practical manuals, only the initial placement of Modelos de cartas hints at that. The label "Traductora" does not appear on the title page of any of the practical manuals, as it frequently does on her better known translations.

It is likely that Burgos considered more distinguished the translation of modern literature and social and scientific theory than that of practical manuals for women. And perhaps it suited her professional aims to be considered the author and not the translator of domestic manuals, thus currying the favor of her female audience. Her admission to relying on others for the kind of knowledge considered natural to women in early twentieth-century Spain would not have ingratiated her to those supporting the dominant ideology. Her translation of such works would, perhaps, even be considered a confession of dereliction of domestic responsibility. In a culture replete with images of women

as angels of the hearth, failure to embody those virtuous qualities was likely to result in societal condemnation. It is possible, then, that Burgos preferred to affirm her authority in domestic matters by denying her role as mere translator of these works.

During the course of writing this dissertation, María del Carmen Simón Palmer disclosed to me that she suspected that Burgos's practical manuals might be translations. That notion would partially explain my observation about the initial placement of Modelos de cartas. Simón Palmer had not been aware of that detail, but rather had derived her opinion from the conventional nature of titles such as "El arte de ..." which, she noted, were reminiscent of French titles of the period (personal interview).

As a result of that conversation, I examined volumes of the Catalogue Général de la Librairie Française covering the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While they include many titles beginning with the words L'art de.... on a variety of subjects and by a variety of authors, none are exact duplicates of Burgos's. This does not prove conclusively that Burgos's texts are not translations, but it does reveal that "L'art de...." was common titular language. This apparently fashionable wording could well have inspired Burgos to model her works after similar French ones.

Simón Palmer has obviously rethought this issue since publishing her comprehensive bibliography, Escritoras españolas del siglo XIX in 1991. In that text she itemizes Burgos's translations of Roberto Bracco, Helen Keller, Max Nordau, Paolo Mantegaza, John Ruskin, and others, as well as the Moebius text. She excludes the domestic conduct manuals from that category, including them instead with Burgos's original works under the heading of "Libros."

The bibliography compiled most immediately following the actual publication of the majority of Burgos's books is the Catálogo General de la librería española e hispanoamericana, published in 1932 and covering the years from 1901 to 1930. In it, works are arranged alphabetically by title under the author's name. The bibliography includes such details as the names of the printer and publisher, place of publication, year of publication if available, number of pages, trim size, price, and sometimes an indication of the contents. Each entry is numbered, with the exception of the translations which are in the appropriate place in the alphabetical listing, but are not assigned a catalogue number. They are cross-referenced to the actual author; for example: "--- V. Keller (Helen). *Historia de mi vida muda, sorda, ciega.*--Traducción." (445) None of the conduct manuals is identified as a translation.

Another bibliographer from the first half of the twentieth-century, Palau y Dulcet, includes only the works

Burgos supposedly authored. The category of translations, later included by Simón Palmer, is absent from his list; nevertheless, the conduct manuals are included as Burgos's work.²⁴

There is, then, a long bibliographic record attributing the practical manuals to Burgos: it begins with her declarations of authorship on the title pages of her texts and is reaffirmed in Tesoro de la belleza, Volume 1 of her Obras completas, published by Sempere. It states that "[l]a autora recomienda especialmente esta edición de sus obras completas, porque todos los tomos que la forman han sido revisados, aumentados y modernizados cuidadosamente por ella." The assumption of Burgos's responsibility for the works has been reiterated by the major bibliographers of the literature of that period, including Simón Palmer. There is no evidence to suggest that Burgos denied responsibility for the instructional manuals. As I will discuss, however, she did utilize some of the Prologues and Introductions to comment on her relationship to the genre.

²⁴ It is important to note that absolute accuracy of information in these bibliographies cannot be assured. The Catálogo general, for example, identifies Ellas y ellos o ellos y ellas, published by Alrededor del Mundo in 1917, as a novel having 302 pages. My examination revealed that the book is, instead, a collection of five novellas, one of which is the title story which had been originally published the previous year as number 388 of Los Contemporáneos. The text was not listed in Palau and was again called a novela by Simón Palmer.

"Un libro más de arreglos. Es la vida."

In spite of the evidence I have cited that the practical manuals are not mere translations, neither Burgos nor her publishers insist upon their complete originality. Instead, the texts are in a category identified as a mixture of original works and "arreglos," or arrangements. Burgos's economic circumstances compelled her to produce at a prodigious rate; thus, it would not have been feasible for her to travel through Spain, the rest of Europe, and even America searching out original formulas for meals, cosmetics, and household management techniques. It is obvious that in many cases Burgos relied on other sources for such information. I will discuss one such case, El arte de ¿Quiere V./ser amada, in the next chapter.

It is often difficult to identify the origin of such commonly held domestic lore or wisdom as recipes or standards of ideal beauty.²⁵ Burgos might well have considered that information to belong in the public domain.

²⁵ Kathy Peiss points out that in America "resistance to commercially manufactured cosmetics was very high in the nineteenth century. ... [S]uch fears were heightened by the centuries-old tradition of using arsenic, white lead, and other toxic substances in powders and enamels. Advice books often cautioned women ... to become their 'own manufacturer--not only as a matter of economy, but of safety'" (145). As a result, "family keepsakes and formularies offered recipes to soften and whiten skin, cure freckles, and remove unwanted hair and were distributed to a wide range of Americans.... As was the case with medicinal remedies, an oral tradition concerning hair and skin care probably comprised an aspect of women's culture" (144-45). The situation in Spain would certainly have been similar.

It is highly unlikely, for example, that Burgos's more canonically accepted contemporary, Emilia Pardo Bazán, had a test kitchen in which she created the recipes which appear in her cookbook, yet her creativity has not been impugned.²⁶ There is considerable evidence that the lines between original writing, borrowing, paraphrasing, and translating slipped from blurry to nonexistent in that period.²⁷ Therefore, the significance of Burgos's practical manuals in revealing her position relative to the ideology of domesticity should not be underestimated.

Burgos rationalized her preparation of "arreglos" as a source of reliable income in the "Preliminar" to the first edition of El arte de seducir where, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, she utilized the pseudonym Condesa de C***.²⁸ Moreover, she indicates their dubious fidelity to the pursuit of "un arte puro y libre" which Ledesma

²⁶ In a conversation with Carlos Serrano, he told me that it is known that Pardo Bazan's La novela rusa is a close adaptation of a French work by the Marquis de Vogüé (1864-1927). Similarly, the Spanish theater of the period relied heavily on "adaptaciones" that were really "traducciones."

²⁷ Inman Fox told me that Pío Baroja and Azorín exchanged correspondence in which they addressed the need to write quickly for the *novelas por entregas*. Moreover, they traded information about characters they had created so that one could reuse a character originated by the other.

²⁸ The latter work, although written by Burgos under the pseudonym "Condesa de C***," and originally published in Madrid by the Sociedad Española de Librería, was incorporated in the *Sempere Obras completas* as Tesoro de belleza (arte de seducir) under Burgos's real name. Thus I include it here.

Hernández had suggested should be her goal.²⁹ It may be that, for some unknown reason, Burgos utilized a false identity in order to conceal her authorship of this particular text. The pen name is also a device which allows her to represent the plight of all women authors, but the remarks are so germane to her that the ruse becomes transparent:³⁰

Un libro más de arreglos. Es la vida. Entre la pasión de las novelas, estos libros, seguros y prácticos, parecen un deber de la escritora. Sobre todo, una sonrisa, y en medio de esa sonrisa cierta aplicación y cierta honradez para que el libro sea eficaz.... Nuestro lenguaje y nuestra fantasía en estos libros tienen que sacrificarse, tienen que abandonar su brillantez y su misterio. Nuestro lenguaje tiene que ser claro, trivial y vulgarizador.... Es esta como una obra social, a que se debe dedicar la escritora, tratando a los personajes de la vida ... de otra manera más llana que aquella con que trata a los personajes de las novelas (11).

The inclusion of El arte de seducir, now titled Tesoro de la belleza (arte de seducir), in the of 1924 Obras completas clearly marks it as Burgos's work. It includes a new Prologue in which she echoes her previous words of apology, re-emphasizing her perception of the dichotomy between these useful texts and the passion and art of her novels:

²⁹ In his Prologue to Ensayos literarios (v).

³⁰ Burgos had been authoring novellas since 1907, so if this text dates from 1916 as the Biblioteca Nacional suggests, she would have been well-known for both her fiction and her nonfiction work by that year.

Entre la pasión de las novelas y del arte, estos libros, seguros y prácticos, parecen como un deber de la escritora.... La serie de estos libros, de variados temas, con su apariencia frívola y ligera, encierra conocimientos útiles para la cultura de la mujer.

While acknowledging that these texts are neither pure art nor entirely honest, Burgos asserts their social value. Furthermore, she validates the role of women authors in the education of their presumably female readers.

Las mujeres nos debemos un poco a esta propaganda, a divulgar la cultura entre las mujeres, a fin de que sepan cuidar su casa, sus hijos pequeños ..., su marido enamorado....

[Es] una obra social a la que se debe dedicar ... la escritora....

No estoy arrepentida de haber escrito estos libros tan sencillos, tan femeninos. Si para ser escritora hubiera tenido que renunciar a ser mujer, hubiera roto la pluma.

The defensive stance evident in this passage suggests that Burgos has discerned criticism of her authorial position in the literary establishment: she denies repentance for having written "simple" and "feminine" books in an era in which literature was praised in terms of its virile qualities. Although writing was traditionally a male domain, she continually asserted the feminine character of her work, thus asserting the validity of nonmasculine alternatives. By so doing, she focused attention on the existence of female authors and readers. Yet, any woman who was knowledgeable and spoke or wrote with the didactic authority affirmed by Burgos was stepping beyond carefully drawn binary gender distinctions and risked societal

condemnation as masculine. By insisting on the femininity of her work, Burgos attempts to preclude any definition of herself as masculine.

Moreover, Burgos defends herself against accusations, such as those previously articulated by Ledesma Hernández, that feminist goals necessarily signify a "distinta misión moral y social de ambos sexos, [la que] pretende igualarlos en actividades y derechos, y crear una sociedad histórica donde no haya preeminencias para ninguno, ni autoridad, ni por consiguiente familia ni Estado posibles" (iii). She states that it is her obligation to:

deshacer el prejuicio de que la mujer que se instruye, lucha y trabaja, es un ser aparte, y para probar que no existe incompatibilidad entre el sentimiento y el cultivo del Arte y la sencillez en la vida.

In other words, women should be able to educate themselves, work, and cultivate the arts without being marginalized by Spanish culture. Burgos urges that the possibility of alternative behavior be included in the definition of female, without forsaking the essentialist definition of woman's inherent *sentimiento*, considered the foundation of maternal instincts. She seeks to augment the potential attributes of women without shedding traditional connections with maternity and domesticity.

Emphasizing the distinct nature of texts destined for the female reader, Burgos steadfastly re-claims her authorship of them in order to assert her femininity as an

author. It must be assumed, then, that she ultimately considered the arreglos her own. They make up, as I will establish, a fabric of information gleaned from oral and written sources which Burgos weaves together with threads of her philosophy for women's lives. The resulting texts, in spite of their apparently borrowed information, maintain significance as statements of Burgos's position vis à vis the dominant ideology. They can be interrogated for evidence of how Burgos, in spite of her frequently unconventional recommendations for women, devised a discourse which appears, on the surface, to satisfy traditional concepts of female roles.

CHAPTER 4
THE ART OF ARRANGING: THE "ARREGLO" OF EL ARTE DE SER AMADA

Introduction

This chapter will examine Burgos's El arte de ser amada, published by Sempere, and the Sopena edition of the same text, known as ¿Quiere V. ser amada?¹ El arte de ser amada is identified as an arreglo in the bibliography of Burgos's works found in Al balcón. A complementary aspect of the analysis, therefore, will be an exploration of Burgos's arreglos. The unusual structure of Ser amada will be considered, and the question will be posed as to whether this "arranged" text reflects the psychic alienation posited by Bartky: did Burgos, as a result of economic oppression, sacrifice her authorial independence in writing prescriptive literature for women? As a female writer reiterating the dominant domestic ideology, did she become an oppressor for herself and other women?

My investigation of Burgos's practical manuals reveals that they fall into two categories, each of which presupposes the primacy of women's domestic value. One group, the domestic economies, focuses primarily on a

¹ Because the text of both editions is the same, they will be considered as one and referred to as the Ser amada text for the purpose of this discussion. All citations will be to ¿Quiere V. ser amada?, the Sopena edition of the text.

woman's role in enhancing the home environment.² The other concentrates on the care and improvement of her body.³ Since a woman in Burgos's culture could not achieve a position of cultural respect without a husband and children, contending for male approbation was a necessity; an obvious route by which to seek it was the cultivation of the characteristics most appealing in a spouse. Presumably, Burgos's texts were directed to that end.

For reasons of space in this dissertation, it is not feasible to scrutinize Burgos's entire prolific corpus of practical manuals. Furthermore, the repetitive nature of the texts, even those not having parallel titles, makes that effort superfluous. Because the "body" group of texts features greater emphasis on the individual and less on her surroundings, I chose it as more pertinent to this study. The Ser amada text emerged from the group as a particularly arresting and worthwhile example for several reasons.

While the text shares certain characteristics, which will be indicated in this chapter, with other texts of the "body" category, it is also distinguished from that group by

² The group includes the Sempere editions and re-editions as well as the Sopena editions of the following texts: Modelos de cartas, La cocina moderna, La cocina práctica, Las artes de la mujer, La mujer en el hogar, Vademécum femenino, and La mujer jardinero.

³ This group is comprised by the Sempere editions and re-editions and the Sopena editions of El arte de ser amada, Arte de seducir, Salud y belleza, El arte de ser mujer, and El tocador práctico.

its inclusion of the topics of "modernidad," "feminismo" and "igualdad." Thus, it provides the opportunity to make certain generalizations about the category, yet explore what appears to be particularly significant about this work.

As an arreglo, Ser amada is an example of work prepared by Burgos and for which she, in the "Preliminar" to the Obras completas edition of Tesoro de la belleza, claimed an important social purpose: to "divulgar la cultura entre las mujeres, a fin de que sepan cuidar su casa, sus hijos pequeños ..., su marido enamorado...." (6).

The inclusion of Ser amada in the bibliography of Burgos's works in Al balcón (1913 or 1914) makes it reasonable to assign the first edition of the text, El arte de ser amada, to the three year period between 1911 and 1913.⁴ As a result of the establishment of an approximate period of publication, it becomes possible to relate the text to novellas with which it is contemporaneous. Burgos's comments in the Prologue to Tesoro de la belleza that the practical texts were of an "apariencia frívola y ligera" implied that she retrospectively placed a higher artistic value on the novellas, not limited to a female audience. An important issue to consider, then, is whether Burgos conveys a different cultural perspective in the novellas from that

⁴ Burgos writes in ¿Quiere V. ser amada?, "¿El chic? Tal como lo comprende la mitad de las parisienses de 1911, ..." Since El arte de ser amada is the first version of the same text, this indicates that the text post-dates 1911 and pre-dates the 1913 or 1914 publication of Al balcón.

which she presents in such texts as Ser amada. Did Burgos subordinate her authorial integrity to a greater degree in one genre than in another? These concerns will be addressed in the following chapters.

My research into the Ser amada text also enabled me to relate Burgos's text to that of a possible source. In the nonfiction texts, Burgos frequently paraphrases or cites borrowed material without providing sufficient identification to pinpoint her sources. In Ser amada, however, she quotes at length the work of two contemporaries whose work she dutifully cites. Burgos identifies one of the cited works as her primary source of beauty expertise. Although I was not able to locate the exact text to which Burgos refers, I did unearth a very similar one by the same author. As a result, I was able to compare the two, tracing Burgos's narrative and, in addition, identifying elements which appear to be particularly hers. This led me to the conclusion that Ser amada, while utilizing some foreign sources, is clearly Burgos's work.

"¿Qué es la belleza?"⁵

The texts which I have incorporated into the "body" classification share a common structural element: the first chapter is devoted to the importance of considering the topic of beauty. Even the suggestive titles of El arte de... or ¿Quiere V. ser amada and El arte de seducir, which

⁵ ¿Quiere V. ser bella y tener salud? 9.

seem to imply a subject matter dealing with amorous relationships, instead focus heavily, although not exclusively, on woman's appearance. The cultural pressure to regard marriage as the only possible circumstance under which love and seduction would occur requires that these two titles be considered in that context, although Burgos's personal reputation might have hinted at more titillating content. The reader expecting such instruction, though, would have been disappointed because they contain no reference to sexual matters. On the surface, Burgos seems to suggest that simply one's appearance is sufficient to lead to the socially approved reward of marriage.

Burgos's discussion of beauty varies somewhat from text to text. The title of the work functions, to a certain extent, as an organizing principle. In Salud y belleza; ¿Quiere V. ser bella y tener salud?, for example, beauty is presented more clearly than in the other texts as the outward manifestation of health. Ser amada, features loveability as a leitmotif which Burgos uses to connect diverse information relating to the attractive appearance of a woman and her surroundings.⁶

In spite of minor differences of attitude from text to text, Burgos consistently maintains that beauty is an abstract. While resisting a narrow definition, the texts

⁶ Although Burgos clearly emphasizes male/female love, she also pays cursory attention to that of family members and friends.

contemplate various physical conditions which might detract from beauty. Many of these issues continue to be associated with women's appearance: "delgadez" and "obesidad," for example, are discussed in Arte de la elegancia, El arte de seducir, the Ser amada texts, the Salud y belleza texts, and the Tocador texts. Similarly, there is information on re-modeling the "deformidades" of such undesirable features as the nose or "busto" in all of the texts just mentioned with the exception of Arte de la elegancia. The quest for "perpetua juventud," the "lucha contra la vejez" and "eterna belleza" are also addressed.

In addition to such thematic recurrences, Burgos reiterates some specific details in several texts. For example, in Ser amada as well as the Salud y belleza texts and El arte de ser mujer she cites the same "criterio árabe que sigue imperando." Although Burgos asserts that women lacking the qualities mentioned should not be considered ugly, her restatement of such a rigid standard as

Cuatro cosas negras: los cabellos, las cejas, las pestañas y las pupilas; tres cosas blancas: la piel, el cristal del ojo y los dientes; cinco cosas rosadas: la lengua, los labios, las encías, las mejillas y las uñas; ... cuatro cosas grandes: la frente, los ojos, los riñones y las caderas.
(15)

serves to reinscribe a bourgeois and nationalistic criterion. It sustains the myth of the Spanish woman who is healthy, fertile, and, with white skin and rosy lips and nails, certainly not a peasant.

The narrative thread in "Ser amada"

The body texts are, then, characterized by certain uniformity, yet each is distinct. Although Burgos obviously borrowed such material as "Cuatro cosas negras" from other sources, the differing combination of material from text to text makes it clear that they are not mere translations. In the majority of the texts, however, it is often difficult to definitely delineate Burgos's authorial voice.

In Ser amada, unlike many of the other instructional manuals, Burgos's narrative emerges in contrast to her often clearly defined citations. She initially establishes her presence as both the author/subject of the text and an object of international discussion with a reference to La parisiense y sus nervios, written by Enrique Gómez Carrillo and dedicated to Burgos.⁷ Burgos writes, "Gómez Carrillo ... nos ha hecho un bello retrato de la mujer moderna, que no resisto a la tentación de incluir en este libro, ya que mi ilustre amigo tuvo la galantería de dedicármelo." Her introduction of the Gómez Carrillo passage makes clear her

⁷ Mainer calls Gómez Carrillo a "guatemalteco-parisino." He lived from 1873-1927, spending the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as the Guatemalan Consul in Paris. During that period he was responsible for introducing many young Spanish writers to the Parisian literary scene, thus familiarizing them with modern literary events.

He was known for his Crónicas, which, according to Mainer, were more popular than the early writings of "Azorín," Baroja and Maeztu, "[l]a futura y controvertida 'generación del 98'" (26-27). Some of his work was published in Spain by Sopena.

authorial presence in the Ser amada text. Moreover, Burgos establishes her friendship with the popular author, as she had with Sempere in the Prologue to La cocina moderna.

Burgos fills eleven pages of text with the Gómez Carrillo passage. The use of this citation on the plight of modern women is a transparent technique by which she could augment her production in order to create a text more rapidly. As Burgos wrote in El arte de seducir, the instructional manuals were a response to her economic necessity, thus, her ability to skillfully incorporate other threads into the fabric of these texts was an important contribution to her prolific production. It was a technique she readily admitted, recalling in the "Autobiografía" the praise she had earned for an article she had "written" with "tijeras" for her father-in-law in Almería. Furthermore, it must be assumed that Burgos, apparently well-read, made these choices mindfully. What, then, does the Gómez Carrillo selection contribute to the Ser amada text?

In the citation, Gómez Carrillo recounts a conversation he supposedly had with a physician friend. The doctor, speaking as an expert, asserts that the nervous state of modern women does not derive from their apparently rumored tendency to engage in extramarital affairs; indeed, the modern inventions which invade their lives and separate them from the home leave them no time for such dalliances: "'Su vida es vertiginosa. Entre el teléfono, el automóvil y el

ferrocarril, no tiene una hora de descanso.... El universo es muy pequeño en nuestro siglo'" (32).⁸

Burgos employs the words of another to reveal to Spanish women, economically and culturally less liberated than their Parisian counterparts, circumstances other than their own. Gómez Carrillo's physician character, while denying women's "declining" morality, suggests that it is a common topic of discussion. Furthermore, he makes it clear that French women experience a greater degree of personal freedom than their Spanish counterparts. Thus, without further endangering her position vis à vis the marital state, Burgos becomes a purveyor of modern international notions on the topic at hand. The clear reference in the citation to the shrinking world probably also had political significance, given the long Spanish polemic on the protection of Spanish national identity versus the desire for international contact. Later twentieth-century communication would eventually make that issue moot, although the premature end of the Second Republic shortly after Burgos's death certainly prolonged the isolation of Spain longer than she could have expected.

Furthermore, the passage exposes Burgos's women readers, who might not otherwise read Gómez Carrillo's work,

⁸ The doctor attributes his knowledge to women's tendency to reveal personal information, which would formerly have been reserved for the confessional, to their physicians. As a result, the medical profession asserted its expertise in women's lives.

to a fragment of the writing of an author who was definitely modern.⁹ By so doing, she not only associates herself with the modern woman who is Gómez Carrillo's subject, but she also signals her importance in the literary world beyond the Spanish borders. That Gómez Carrillo would dedicate a book to her is a sign of her connection to important literary figures in Paris, the center of modernity.

Burgos's citation of Gómez Carrillo is not the only lengthy borrowed extract in the text: she relies heavily for beauty advice upon "[l]a conocida tiple italiana Lina Cavalieri ... célebre en todo el mundo, porque a los encantos de su voz une la belleza más atrayente que haya pisado la escena."¹⁰ Burgos diligently credits her source, writing that, "Interrogada por un redactor del American," Cavalieri shares her "útiles consejos ... para popularizar el secreto de prolongar la belleza a pesar de los años y de las luchas de la vida" (40).

Although Burgos's information is inadequate to locate the exact text to which she refers, I obtained a copy of Cavalieri's My Secrets of Beauty published in New York in 1914.¹¹ Cavalieri probably became well-known in the United

⁹ Although Gómez Carrillo's work was popular in Spain, women were often "protected" from reading modern authors whose work might be considered too stimulating for them.

¹⁰ Cavalieri was an Italian lyric soprano. She lived from 1874 to 1944 and debuted in Lisbon in 1900.

¹¹ The title American has proven to be too general to locate.

States when she sang with the Metropolitan Opera from 1906 to 1908 and with the Manhattan Opera Company the following year.¹² Her textual references to expressions and problems which she considers typically American make it clear that the book was directed to the American audience, as must have been the article to which Burgos refers. Since there is no indication that the text is translated from Italian, it is likely that another party, perhaps the very editor mentioned by Burgos, participated in its preparation.¹³ This and considerable similarities between it and the text cited by Burgos lead me to believe that Cavalieri's book coincides closely with Burgos's source.

Burgos advises the reader that she will provide a faithful transcription of Cavalieri's recommendations, writing "Como la artista ha seguido en sus escritos un método riguroso, dando en pequeñas dosis los procedimientos más adecuados para conservar la belleza, no alteraremos su plan" (41). Any comparison between the two texts must take into account that Burgos is apparently referring to a

¹² The Manhattan Opera Company was directed by Oscar Hammerstein.

¹³ It is not likely, given Cavalieri's primarily European career, that she mastered English well enough to write a book in it without the assistance of an unnamed translator or ghost writer. In *My Secrets of Beauty*, Cavalieri writes, "It is a harder problem than that which I tried to solve last week" (emphasis added) making it quite possible that the book is a compilation of articles, such as the one or ones mentioned by Burgos (217).

different version of Cavalieri's recommendations. Nevertheless, the numerous parallels between the texts I examined signal the location of Burgos's divergence from Cavalieri's subject matter as significant.

Cavalieri's text is largely divided into chapters according to certain parts of the body and the beauty issues associated with them; for example, the third chapter is titled "Things to Do for the Eyes, Ears and Nose," the seventh "The Proper Care of the Mouth and Teeth," and the eighth "Duties Every Woman Owes to Her Hair." Some chapters, interspersed among the total of twenty-three, consider more general topics such as "Safe, Easy Ways of Reducing Weight." While Burgos deals with many of the same questions, frequently citing long passages from Cavalieri, her material is condensed and organized differently relative to the Cavalieri book. Information on the hair, eyes, mouth, lips, and teeth, for example, rather than occupying several chapters, is combined in Chapter 3.¹⁴

In spite of minor organizational variations from the Cavalieri text I examined, Ser amada follows a similar thematic orientation whereby the sections within each chapter coincide closely with Cavalieri's treatment of the same material. In addressing the care of the complexion in Chapter 1, for example, Cavalieri writes:

¹⁴ Burgos's other "body" texts are similarly structured, as well, devoting each chapter to a group of parts of the body.

Primarily the cause of most facial blemishes in indigestion.... Here are ten things I beg women never to eat: Sausages, dried fish, pies, bonbons, puddings, ice cream, beef, except when well roasted, pork, especially ham, oysters, unless one is absolutely certain of their freshness, hot bread, as usually made in America. (35)

Burgos includes almost the identical list, accounting for some differences in Spanish cuisine, in Chapter four which is primarily dedicated to "La pureza de las líneas," but addresses "Medios de conservar la pureza del cutis" as well:

Causan mucho daño al cutis de las señoras, manchándolo y afeándolo, las siguientes: pescados secos, salchichas, salchichones, pasteles, empanadas, bombones, pudings, helados, roast-beef si no está bien asado, jamón y carne de cerdo en general, ostras--cuando no son frescas--y el pan caliente. (86)

Moreover, Burgos accurately quotes Cavalieri's advice on grooming and recipes for cosmetics, even including ingredients apparently more familiar to American than to Spanish readers.¹⁵ Her willingness to rely on Cavalieri extends to relating, without criticism, the latter's opinion that reading can be detrimental to the eyes:

"Yo misma--dice Lina Cavalieri--voy varias veces al año desde Nueva York a San Francisco, y aunque en el viaje se invierte cinco días, nunca leo periódicos, ni libros, ni revistas. Y eso que la lectura me agrada muchísimo. Pero más que ésta me agradan mis ojos y no quiero que estén 'deslustrados' por el terrible cansancio." (68)

Although Burgos often carefully indicates Cavalieri's advice by prefacing it as such and enclosing it in quotation

¹⁵ "hamamelis de Virginia (planta del género de las saxifragáceas)" (70).

marks, she sometimes slips into paraphrasing, thereby making the origin of the information less clear. Such is the case with the list of foods previously mentioned. As a result, the line between the two writers becomes blurred and some of Cavalieri's opinions accrue to Burgos.

Burgos occasionally presents Cavalieri's text as reported speech:

El célebre escritor italiano D'Anunzio, ... dijo un día a madame Lina Cavalieri, contestando a una pregunta suya: 'Los ojos que deseen ser hermosos tienen que tener el color claro-oscuro del tabaco.'

Lina Cavalieri, no obstante, prefiere los ojos color violeta.... (66)

Burgos seems to ingratiate herself into this discussion between the two well-known Italians, making it appear that she was privy to their conversation. Again, her international references serve to make her seem to be a player on the world stage.

Burgos sprinkles the Ser amada text with short citations in approximately two-thirds of the first chapter, then utilizes the Gómez Carrillo excerpt to fill the remaining third of it. Next she closely parallels and frequently cites Cavalieri's text from the second through the fourth chapters. Burgos does not indicate her intention to diverge from the Cavalieri material at the end of the fourth chapter. Since each new chapter has apparently begun with Burgos's narration, the absence of citations to

Cavalieri is not immediately obvious; her disappearance from the text becomes apparent gradually.

In the fifth chapter, Burgos takes up additional topics related to physical appearance such as "El arte de la toilette," in which she gives advice on tasteful choices in attire. She does not attribute that data to a specific source nor did I find correlation in the Cavalieri text I examined. It seems, instead, to be a compendium of commonplace information covering color and esthetic theory, with references to such diverse authorities as Plato and Marie de Medici.¹⁶

"[L]abores propias de nuestro sexo"¹⁷

The reader familiar with Burgos's previous writing on labores notices the possible continuation of that discourse embedded in what, at first, appears to be merely a recital of conventional wisdom garnered from other sources. As she had in Moderno tratado de labores, Burgos again points out the economic possibilities of hand stitching. But, in this case, women are not merely passive beneficiaries; rather, she explains that women's labor and a matriarchal transfer

¹⁶ Unlike the canon of "Cuatro cosas negras" which appears in the first chapter, these recommendations entail suggestions for "la mujer rubia" and "los cabellos rojos." At a time when hair coloring was not common, such details would apply to a very small number of Spanish women readers; thus, it is doubtful that Burgos originated the material.

¹⁷ Ser amada 17.

of knowledge was responsible for the economic revival of an entire region:

Para algunas regiones, la industria de los encajes es fuente de riqueza, tanto que las naciones se preocupan de fomentarla. Para citar un ejemplo bien conocido, nos fijaremos en Burano. La pequeña isleta del Adriático sufría los rigores del hambre y la miseria más espantosa.... Entonces, para protegerlos, surgió en un corazón de mujer la idea de desenvolver la industria de los encajes; pero en el transcurso del tiempo se había perdido hasta la tradición de los viejos encajes. Sólo una anciana ... recordaba el perdido punto que dio en otros tiempos celebridad a sus labores. Ella enseñó a la esposa del alcalde, que a su vez transmitió los conocimientos a seis jóvenes destinadas a ser maestras de las demás. ...hoy la isla de Burano es rica y floreciente. (115-16)

The parallels to Spain, where it was feared that women in the labor force would diminish the earning power of males, must have been clear.

By advising readers to purchase *bordados y encajes* directly from the maker, avoiding wherever possible intermediaries and large fashion houses (owned by men), Burgos encourages female solidarity as a way to bolster economic opportunities for women with few resources. This maintains the position taken in the Prologue to La cocina moderna, discussed previously, on the creative dimension of such work. Purchasers who follow her advice "[n]o sólo tendrían la satisfacción de ayudarlas y protegerlas, sino que podrían lograr modelos únicos, haciendo ellas mismas los dibujos y por menos precio obras maravillosas de gusto y originalidad" (Ser amada 117).

The intended reader of this text is of the "clase media acomodada," theoretically not so needful of income that it would be acceptable to work (168). The dominant ideology constituted females as devoted to domestic tasks. Would Burgos consistently sustain the traditional image of such women bent over their needles? She seems, instead, to be responding to criticism of her apparent support of a domestic agenda:¹⁸

Confeccionar por sí mismas los adornos no es de aconsejar más que en el caso de que la necesidad de la economía obligue a ello. Nuestro tiempo necesita emplearse en cosas de mayor interés. Se puede dedicar a las labores un rato, pero no hacer de ellas el primordial objeto de nuestra vida. Sólo en la época en que la mujer estaba relegada en un hogar-cárcel y no se la miraba como compañera, se la condenaba a los monótonos trabajos que se dieron en llamar labores propias de nuestro sexo. (117)

Such a strong stance, implying that the home was once a prison and that women should throw down their sewing and take up other pursuits, places Burgos dangerously close to disavowing a gender-based division of labor. As Ledesma Hernández had warned, a society that fails to recognize "la distinta misión moral y social de ambos sexos, [y que] pretende igualarlos en actividades y derechos" jeopardizes authority and, as a consequence, the existence of the state

¹⁸ It should be remembered that Burgos had advocated the continued teaching of hand-stitching in the schools in Moderno tratado de labores. In other locations, as well, she supported a practical education for women. It must be assumed that she considered that the economic realities for many Spanish women were different from those of the *clase media acomodada*, the intended audience of this text.

(iii). Furthermore, with such counsel, Burgos risked decimating the audience for her domestic manuals. As if to recoil from that position and reconcile her advice with a nurturing role for the modern and more educated woman, she writes,

Saber hacer la labor es importante, grato el dedicarle algunas horas, sobre todo para ofrecer de nuestra mano un presente a las personas que nos son queridas; pero no podemos sacrificarnos a esa labor fatigosa, que acabaría por embrutecernos, cuando es preciso atender, para ser amadas, al cultivo del espíritu. (117)

In the context of the prevalent domestically-oriented education for women, relating sewing to animal-like stupidity was contrary to institutional goals. Burgos introduces the idea that, in order to be loved, it is obligatory that women look to the cultivation of their spirits. It is assumed, then, that such values will be attractive to those who would love them.

This discourse, emphasizing a changing definition of the female role, is inconsistent with the superficial emphases of the surrounding text, yet consistent with Burgos's statements in other locations. Its position in Ser amada, tucked between such apparently trivial material as the appropriate use of color and a list of "propiedades y virtudes mágicas que se atribuyen a las piedras," may be seen as an attempt to camouflage its serious message by

cloaking it with a stereotypically frivolous text for females (121).¹⁹

Burgos's narration, first slipping away unannounced from the Cavalieri text, then moving into another superficial realm before considering more controversial ideas, cannily guides readers toward a new consideration of their value. By refusing to limit her text to the mere reiteration of hackneyed information, Burgos asserts the authority to convey an unorthodox message. She may have ventured to subvert the domestic ideology, yet she concurrently mimics the kind of colonization posited by Bartky by cloaking the text in a conventional appearance.

"[E]l arte difícil y encantador del bien hablar"²⁰

Burgos begins the sixth chapter, as she has others, with data probably borrowed from other readings. In a discussion of establishing a tasteful domestic environment, she reviews the history of French furniture styles from Louis XIII through Louis XVI and up to the "modern." Such details may seem little related to the stated theme of the text, the reader's ability to inspire love. Yet, at the end of the treatise on furniture Burgos maneuvers the reader

¹⁹ The cover design for the Sopena text features a woman in an above-the-ankle length dress, semi-reclining on a Rococo Revival love seat, and embracing a toddler-age nude Cupid, who is viewed from the rear. The woman somewhat resembles Burgos, whose portrait is in a rondelle above the scene.

²⁰ Ser amada 136.

back to the titular topic, writing: "Este marco de que la mujer necesita rodearse no es indiferente para inspirar amor" (136).

If Burgos's only concern were the rapid production of texts, that single phrase might have been sufficient to connect the stated theme of the text, love, to the apparently borrowed material. Burgos could have continued her pattern of incorporating long citations and encyclopedia-like material, thereby producing the text more easily and rapidly. Yet, she goes on to explain:

No basta ... esta parte de halago de la vista y de los sentidos, ni aun toda la buena voluntad que en ello ponga la mujer para cautivar y hacerse amada. Es precisa la espiritualidad que hace valer los dones todos de un corazón bondadoso, un sentimiento estético educado en las delicadezas del arte; sensible a la música, a la pintura, capaz de apreciar el valor literario de una obra y de alternar en una conversación de cultura, por profunda que sea.

El hombre que halla en la mujer amada las dotes para hacer de ella su compañera, no se encuentra tan agradablemente como a su lado en ninguna parte. La mujer que desee ser verdaderamente amada ha de dominar el arte difícil y encantador del bien hablar. (136)

In sections of this chapter dedicated to "El encanto de la voz--El arte de conversar," Burgos proposes that the modern Spanish marriage be rooted in *compañerismo* nourished by conversation. She also refers to such *compañerismo* in speeches delivered during that period, such as "La misión social de la mujer" and "Influencias recíprocas entre la mujer y la literatura." Burgos reiterates in Ser amada as well as in La mujer moderna y sus derechos and several other

texts, that "[l]a importancia de la conversación es tanta, que en América, al mismo tiempo que se han creado escuelas de belleza, se han creado también cursos de conversación" (Ser amada 144). The value Burgos attributes to this topic in other locations, particularly in the course of personal appearances, makes it probable that she is the originator of the statement.

Burgos's perspective on the voice and conversation is particularly noteworthy in the context of Cavalieri's treatment of the same topic. Both writers acknowledge that the quality of the voice is important; Burgos writes: "La voz es de importancia grandísima; el encanto de una voz bien modulada nos da una sensación de reposo" (137). Similarly, My Secrets of Beauty states: "Every woman would have a beautiful voice, for it is indeed one of the most excellent things in woman" (175). Yet while Cavalieri limits her discussion to vocal quality and to providing medicinal recipes which might improve it, Burgos focuses on the cerebral development of the individual and the message which the voice communicates. She does not claim to be reiterating Cavalieri's information here and it is quite possible that, while Cavalieri addresses this topic in My Secrets of Beauty, the article(s) in American did not. Nevertheless, the comparison of the two viewpoints emphasizes Burgos's deviation from a contemporaneous beauty

handbook. It is in those digressions where the reader can discover the bits and pieces of Burgos's narrative.

"La distinta misión moral y social de ambos sexos"²¹

Burgos appears to be continuously aware of the need to appease domestic interests. While encouraging women in educational pursuits which might result in their separation from the home, she steadfastly sustains their importance to the family. Reiterating the Gómez Carrillo passage she had included in the first chapter of the text, she writes "No hay que hacer la vida demasiado vertiginosa si se quieren fundamentar sólidos afectos. El automóvil, la bicicleta ... ese placer físico que experimentamos en devorar el espacio, no debe apartarnos de la vida de familia" (138). Burgos's recasting of the citation suggests an almost sexual power and pleasure inherent in conquering the public sphere. Traditionally, the conquest of the public space has been considered a male privilege predicated on the female's maintenance of the domestic domain. The risk that women would not be willing or able to preserve their established role while assuming a new one consistently underlies Burgos's statements. Her warning of the danger to the family reinscribes Ledesma Hernández's admonition as a real peril.

In Ser amada, Burgos defines woman's responsibility in the home as divided into three areas: "como madres, como

²¹ Ledesma Hernández iii.

esposa y como dueña." Burgos bestows upon the mother the work of "la educadora de los hijos, ... y en cierto modo, la responsable de su destino futuro." As the *dueña*, a woman assumes the characteristics recommended in La perfecta casada: "La esposa cuidará de hacer la casa grata al marido, presentándolo todo limpio, elegante y en orden.... En el trato será cortés, sin tomar confianzas molestas, sencilla, con dignidad para conservar el respeto...." (174). Burgos's conception of the wifely role departs from Fray Luis's recommendations in that she concedes limited advisory powers to women:

Para el esposo, la mujer necesita ser compañera y amante. El primer concepto envuelve el de consejera, discípula o guía, según el caso, y el segundo el de hermana o madrecita, para dar reposo en sus caricias. (173-74)

Suggesting that this vision of marriage may differ from the customary one, Burgos counsels that its foundation be behavior based in mutual respect: "Las garantías de felicidad que puede tener un matrimonio ... se basan más que nada en la educación de ambos, y jamás han de olvidar entre ellos la cortesía."²²

Burgos communicates her realization that placing a value on the female's opinions, thus making her a limited partner, entails a reconsideration of marital power.

²² Burgos did not originate the idea of the companionate marriage. She was probably influenced by the Krausist Gumersindo de Azcárate who had written on it in Minuta de un testamento (1876).

Redefining the sexual relationship, she suggests that the woman's role as lover in *compañerismo*-based marriage be that of sister or dear little mother; any suggestion of passion has been replaced by maternal nurturing. Yet such a union, predicated on the capacity for the sharing of educated conversation, scarcely seems appropriate for the numerically greater illiterate population. While Burgos directs this paradigm to the readership of the women of the *clase media acomodada*, she does not suggest that there be an alternative model for other socio-economic classes. Instead, Burgos's nonfiction presents a middle-class and modernizing ideology which aspires to universal application.

An examination of Burgos's fiction, however, adds a dimension to her possible perception of the dynamics of sexuality in marriage: many of her novels and novellas explore the options of women among socio-economic groups from the peasantry to the urban proletariat in relation to the marital framework. In such works as La rampa and El honor de la familia, female protagonists are made pregnant and deserted; the protagonist of La malcasada is sexually abused while that of El artículo 438 finds passion with another and is murdered by her spouse. The preponderance of fictional characters who are victimized by male sexuality suggests that Burgos imagined that substituting such behavior with conversation might provide women with a more

level and less dangerous field in which to operate. This issue will be addressed in the following chapter.

From an historical perspective, it must also be considered that early twentieth-century Spanish culture would not have viewed female passion as an appropriate topic for women's reading. Moreover, Burgos's life experience may be a consideration: she was purportedly abused by her husband and was many years senior to Ramón Gómez de la Serna, with whom she maintained a relationship during the years I have proposed for the authorship of this book. While Núñez Rey suggests that their liaison was a passionate one, it is equally plausible that maternal/filial feelings were at its core.

"La condición social de la mujer"²³

Burgos's narrative seems to gain strength as she leaves behind physical standards and delves into cultural ones. As she does so, the quantity of references to other authorities and the recitation of insignificant borrowed data decreases. Conversely, statements on female's roles, apparently originated by Burgos, increase. Ultimately, in Chapters IX and X, she takes up such controversial topics as "La mujer en las artes," "las carreras y los oficios," "Estudio de la mujer moderna y sus facultades," and "Importancia de la libertad, la igualdad y la justicia." In these two chapters, Burgos writes in a continuous line, no longer

²³ Ser amada 209.

restricting her narrative to the function of stitching together patches of fabric borrowed from others. It is, rather, as if she were inserting one of her own speeches into the text.²⁴ Her statements are more analogous to the feminist social agenda she would later champion in La mujer moderna y sus derechos (1927?) than to either the first half of the text or the two following chapters. Indeed, in the opening paragraph of Chapter X she calls this examination of social issues "un estudio serio y fundamental," taking a distinctly different authorial position from that she occupied as purveyor of trifling beauty advice (209).

This is not to say, however, that in these chapters Burgos resolves her often conflicted statements about the female role. As I will explain, this discourse serves as a primer for the upper middle class reader on the social, scientific, economic, and political justifications voiced by those who defended the dominant ideology. In these chapters, bracketed by far less controversial topics, Burgos condenses and contests the arguments designed to maintain the status quo. Yet, her insistence on preserving women's maternal and domestic position while urging a reconsideration of her economic and social possibilities reveals infiltration into her text of the prevailing

²⁴ I have not been able to pinpoint a specific Burgos speech as the source of this discourse, however. A speech she delivered in 1911, "La misión social de la mujer," is evidence of her interest in the topics addressed in this text; nevertheless, the wording is different.

domestic ideology. A possible explanation for Burgos's reluctance to challenge "la distinta misión moral y social de ambos sexos" in this text is a pragmatic cognizance of her declared audience: the clase media acomodada (Ledesma Hernández iii). It is credible, as well, that Burgos was disinclined to posit women's abandonment of the domestic sphere because she, like Ledesma Hernández, believed that a stable State must rely on familial stability (iii).

The assumption that women will marry and bear children underlies Burgos's conception of the female domain as she explains it in Ser amada. She views the domestic realm as replete with possibilities as well as with dangers. Burgos had articulated her concern for educating women about modern health care for their children in La protección y la higiene de los niños (1904). Her suggestions in Ser amada, though, are not limited to such expected topics as nutrition and disease prevention. She goes beyond that to hold mothers responsible for conditions which might cause permanent impairments in their children, like blindness and deafness.²⁵ Furthermore, the mother is accountable for correcting the defects which might lead to an unattractive appearance, even to the point of "calzado con zapato justo" to prevent rapid growth of the feet. Since Burgos writes

²⁵ "Los niños ciegos de nacimiento suelen serlo desde las primeras épocas de su vida, por exponerlos a una luz demasiado fuerte o mal refractada..." and "Un ruido violento puede ocasionar la ruptura del nervio auditivo y ser causa de la terrible sordomudez." (184)

"[e]l excesivo desarrollo de las manos y los pies afea mucho a las mujeres," it must be assumed that attractiveness is an especially important issue for female children whose marriageability might eventually be at stake. The relationship between female appearance, marriage, and future generations in a novella, El tesoro del castillo, will be discussed in the next chapter.

The mother is charged, as well, with the moral education of the child who should learn to "distinguir la verdadera belleza de los delirios calenturientos del decadentismo" (188). Burgos avows that, in order to perform the task successfully, "[h]ay que dar a la mujer una instrucción enciclopédica" consisting of art, music, scientific principles, geography, history, and "la marcha evolutiva de la humanidad" (188-89). It seems that an education corresponding to Burgos's proposal would be complete and modern, even including Darwinian principles. Yet she also specifies instruction in domestic economy, which she calls "la más alta misión de la mujer" (189). Perhaps anticipating criticism from feminist circles, she again addresses the matter of her support of woman's domestic value:

Parece a primera vista que cuando se dice que la mujer debe cuidar de los hogares, se le niega la educación y la instrucción; pero nada más lejos de eso. No hay empleo, carrera ni oficio que requiera mayor suma de conocimientos, de cultura y de exquisito tacto que el de dueña de casa.

En ella la mujer, como madre, es maestra; como esposa, consejera, como dueña responsable de la

suerte y la felicidad de todos los que de ella dependen.... (190)

Instead of deemphasizing maternity, Burgos elevates it to a lofty status and utilizes it as the justification for expanding women's access to fields of knowledge not previously available to them. Even a reader imbued with the dominant ideology would be hard put to contest placing such importance in the maternal role.

To forestall problems that could arise from making the domestic role the only one esteemed for women, Burgos attempts to persuade readers of the value of other options, insisting that "[d]entro de todas las profesiones se puede ser amada y amante, madre y esposa" (190). Although she strives to convince readers that one path should not negate another, her emphasis on the maintenance of traditional concepts of the feminine role serves to reinscribe them.

Burgos's expectations, suggesting that women be sufficiently educated to function as guides and counselors to their husbands without stepping beyond conventional definitions of their roles, place them in a very difficult position vis à vis the Spanish culture of the day. Burgos attempts to convince readers that men who "abominan de las mujeres ilustradas ... suelen dividirse en tres categorías: bribones, ignorantes o inconscientes" (193), yet she reiterates that female displays of knowledge must be concealed from men, for "[n]ada molesta la vanidad masculina, ... tanto como el verse pequeños delante de una

mujer" (204). She points out that there is an even greater risk to women than being labeled frivolous or superficial; women who allow their knowledge to shine too brightly "caen en otro extremo peor, que les vale el dictado de marisabidillas" (144-45). Moreover, it is incumbent upon women to counter the belief that "las mujeres cultas son incapaces de amar" (201).

The consequences of erudition extend, as well, to a woman's behavior within female circles:

Una mujer que pone en ridículo a las de su sexo es repulsiva siempre, y la víctima se hace amable. Hasta en los casos en que una superioridad real e indiscutible hace a la mujer sobresalir, sin pretenderlo, y eclipsar a las otras, ha de tener la superior ... un tacto exquisito y una gran delicadeza de espíritu, y procurar obscurecerse un poco, a fin de que brillen las otras. (203)

Women's physical capability for elevated mental operations was central to the polemic on the role they would play in modern Spain. Burgos's allusion to female superiority in this text recalls its antithesis in the Moebius treatise she had translated earlier, La inferioridad mental de la mujer. In Ser amada, she comments on her association with Moebius's text in a tone which both demystifies and devalues such scientific attempts to justify women's subordinate role:

Se nos ha querido discutir las condiciones cerebrales, y sabios respetables, con seriedad que causa risa, se han ocupado de dilucidar la supuesta inferioridad o superioridad de una parte de la humanidad sobre la otra. La controversia se tornó apasionada en algunos momentos. (195)

Updating readers on that discussion, Burgos explains that such respected Spanish scientists as Ramón y Cajal had concluded that women were proportionately endowed with an even greater quantity of brain mass than men. She insists, however, that it is pointless to waste effort on determining the relative inferiority and superiority of males and females, since "en la vida desempeñamos misión tan importante los unos como las otras" (195).

Thus, Burgos, while entreating women to educate themselves on a variety of topics and to pursue gainful employment if they desire, treads carefully along the line drawn by Ledesma Hernández: she steadfastly avoids disrupting traditional definitions of gender. Although she avers that the social tasks of men and women are equally important, domesticity remains the defining responsibility for women. The implication seems to be that if women were permitted to manifest their intelligence, the entire social structure might be at risk.

The possibility that increasing employment opportunities for women might lead them to abandon domestic chores in favor of paid employment was central to the national discussion on their future societal role. While expressing sympathy for that prospect, Burgos points out that economic distress also threatens familial well-being: "Lamentable es que la mujer haya de tomar parte en la vida pública con detrimento de los cuidados del hogar.... pero

más lamentable sería verlos condenados al hambre o al asilo por falta de quien les ganase el pan" (191). The need for women to take part in "la llamada lucha por la existencia" is the fault of "la mala organización de la sociedad moderna, que no está en nuestra mano cambiar" (190-91). Addressing the contemporary political situation, Burgos blames the lack of women's progress on the conservative position that men would be deprived of jobs if women entered the labor force. Burgos argues that, on the contrary, men would have fewer financial responsibilities if women were no longer entirely dependent upon them.

The text that began with a discussion of female beauty has become an explanation to women of the impact politics and economics might have in their lives. Burgos dedicates three pages to promoting the idea that "[l]o que contribuirá a acelerar el movimiento de la libertad femenil es, sin duda alguna, el socialismo, cuya aparición consituye uno de los más grandes acontecimientos de la historia del mundo" (214).

The remaining seven pages of the chapter are a treatise on the potential significance of women in politics. After explaining that the socialist program proclaims equality of the sexes and establishes universal suffrage, Burgos points out that middle class women remain neutral and indifferent to the "males de una sociedad mal organizada" (216). She asserts that many seem desirous of associating with "las grandes damas del partido conservador" while others, "por

sentimiento, quisieran figurar en las filas de las luchadoras del pueblo" (216). But, in Burgos's opinion, the worst possibility is that "una gran mayoría cree caer en el ridículo al mezclarse en los asuntos políticos o tomar parte en actos de protesta de los partidos avanzados" (216-17).

Burgos's plea for readers to participate in politics, preferably looking to the socialists for their advancement, reveals an important objective of this discourse. Women, as more than half of the Spanish population, were an as yet undetermined mass of potential voters. Female suffrage remained controversial among feminists because it was feared that if women's vote followed that of their husbands it would not promote women's interests. If the middle classes chose to vote with the aristocrats, conservative interests would benefit along with the restriction of women's social and legal rights. The socialists, however, encouraged "las altas clases, tan egoístas y ciegas como ligeras y culpables, a mirar hacia abajo, prestando mayor consideración a los que trabajan, que con su número y su fuerza pueden llegar fácilmente a ser los señores de los que hoy les mandan" (215). They could, then, stabilize Spanish society by helping to improve the lot of the working poor. The greatest threat to societal stability did not lie in women's potential contribution to paid labor. Rather, the social structure was more likely to be subverted by poverty-driven revolution in the *pueblos* where options to augment

income were far fewer. Among that population, nonetheless, female readers would have been almost nonexistent, and they would certainly not have formed Burgos's audience. The clase media acomodada, on the contrary, contained increasing numbers of literate women who would be more likely to read the Biblioteca para la mujer. It is likely that Burgos would have structured her argument in order to convince the class that would read the text.

In order to persuade middle class women of the benefits of societal change, Burgos addressed them in terms of the domestic realm which structured their existence:

Cuando un niño se forma en un hogar donde el padre y la madre viven colocados en el pie de la igualdad más absoluta, ve reinar en torno de él la justicia y se habitúa a considerar y respetar los derechos del individuo como la base del orden social. (217)

...

Por el contrario, cuando un niño se educa en una familia que considera a su madre como un animal doméstico, subordinada a los caprichos de la tiranía de su padre; cuando la ve abatida y sin dignidad tratar de preservar su persona con la hipocresía, la duplicidad y el disimulo, no adquiere jamás clara noción del derecho. Entra en la vida creyendo que la fuerza brutal es la base de la sociedad, y en el país que esto sucede, la anarquía política y las duplicidades individuales dan por resultado la miseria universal. (217-18)

In this passage, the relationship between domesticity and Spanish politics of the era becomes clear. The less politically charged paradigm of *compañerismo* suggested earlier in the text is a euphemism for female equality, at least within the nuclear family. A woman, as wife and

mother, can model social justice and pacifism for her children, instructing them in a new dynamic of male/female relationships as she would teach them hygiene and nutrition. The child is the next generation of Spanish citizen, in whom can be inculcated new values. The mother, in the role of maestra, is in the position to form a Spanish society founded on the dignity of all classes and, more importantly, to stave off the anarchy that might result from ignoring Spain's underlying poverty and rigid class distinctions. The process will begin with the education of the middle class woman who should, in addition, and perhaps to fortify her message, project an image ordinarily associated with more "healthy" and economically developed societies: good eyes and teeth, and clean hair. She can play an important part in taking Spain into the modern era, and the transformation will begin at the domestic level.

In this discourse summarizing the polemic on women's roles, Burgos reassures middle class women that feminism and socialism do not represent threats to the Spanish social structure. To the contrary, their commitment to greater equality would enable women to increase their domestic empowerment, eventually contributing to the creation of a more modern Spain. By constantly returning to the level of the domestic, the text resists a redefinition of women's role away from the stereotypical. The limits of domestic circumscription may be stretched, but they are not rent.

Conclusions

In the final chapters of the text, XI and XII, Burgos discontinues the discourse on the evolving role of women in twentieth-century Spain and undertakes a critical review of the supernatural means women have historically employed to attract mates. She ends the text with a return to the kind of traditional topics she had treated earlier. Reading about *cartomancia* and *La magia en las flores*, it is almost possible to forget that Burgos had raised substantive, modern issues in the two preceding chapters. Her return to the inconsequential subjects appropriate for a text of this type lends the book such an air of uniformity that the interlude almost disappears. Indeed, the potential reader, glancing casually at the text, might remain unaware of the political discourse buried within it.

It is the very discontinuity of Burgos's narrative, however, which causes the timely and controversial statement on feminist issues to emerge from its surrounding context. As Michel Foucault writes in The Archaeology of Knowledge:

However banal it may be, however unimportant its consequences may appear to be, however quickly it may be forgotten after its appearance, however little heard or however badly deciphered we may suppose it to be, a statement is always an event that neither the language (*langue*) nor the meaning can quite exhaust.... It is certainly a strange event ... because it is linked not only to the situations that provoke it, and to the consequences that it gives rise to, but at the same time, and in accordance with a quite different modality, to the statements that precede and follow it. (28)

Chapters IX and X represent, as I have shown, a "strange event" in the context of what might be expected in such a text as Ser amada. Burgos's feminist statement, supporting more cerebral and public roles for women, erupts unexpectedly from a discourse which otherwise maintains the tradition of evaluating primarily their appearance. It is tempting to read it as a more forthright expression of Burgos's beliefs than the material which precedes and follows it. Yet, although it appears inconsistent in the text, it cannot be separated from its surrounding statements. Following Foucault's comments on the importance of determining the conditions of the existence of statements, then, we may see Ser amada as an analogy of the conditions traditionally ordained for women. As such, the structure of Ser amada parallels the dominant life-text of the turn-of-the-century Spanish woman. Her options would be circumscribed by concern for her physical appearance, categorized by the body, and oriented towards securing a mate in order to establish a sphere in which to gain social respect. Only then could she look to shaping the future. Any discussion of a woman's role in early twentieth-century Spain had to be framed by the domestic context.

In spite of her nontraditional lifestyle and her recognition of women's subjugation, it is unlikely that Burgos fully perceived the effects of psychic alienation in her writing. Undoubtedly acutely aware of her economic

oppression, she would not necessarily have discerned the far more subtle effects of psychological oppression posited by Bartky: the internalization of stereotyping, cultural domination, and sexual objectification. She participated in the perpetuation of such manifestations of oppression while protesting the more obvious social and political consequences of sexism. As Bartky writes, "While I would not hesitate to call someone a feminist who supported a program for the liberation of women and who held beliefs about the nature of contemporary society appropriate to such a political program, something crucial to an understanding of feminism is overlooked if its definition is so restricted" (11).

In writing a behavior guide specifically designed for a woman's practical collection, Burgos was constrained by the tradition of that genre as well as by the "psychological effects of colonialism on the colonized" to fulfill the expectations of the dominant ideology (Bartky 22). Her financial situation no doubt contributed toward a conscious attempt not to risk alienating her audience: the women of the clase media acomodada.

Yet, Bartky writes, "To be a feminist, one has first to become one" (11). Through her experiences of "profound personal transformation," Burgos had initiated that process (11). While she provided information by which women could cultivate their appearance, thereby enhancing their

traditionally conceived worth as spousal candidates, she incorporates modern values as well. By expanding traditional notions of possible means to inspire love, Burgos is able to incorporate a discussion of nondomestic matters into the text. Continuing the metaphor of decorative stitching which Burgos alluded to in the Prologue to La cocina moderna, the polemical topics are tucked into the stuffing, hidden between two embroidered layers of fabric. The external surface of traditionally conceived advice to women may catch the eye, but there is more to be discovered by one willing to examine the interior.

Burgos's didactic discourse in speeches and such instructional texts as Ser amada frequently expresses concern at the danger that educated women might be labeled "marisabidilla." As if to avoid that risk, she proclaims her own intellectual humility in the Prologue to La cocina moderna. In spite of such declarations, however, Burgos's biographers do not characterize her personal behavior as in any way submissive or disparaging of her literary accomplishments. The gap between Burgos's conduct and the tractable domestic behavior she prescribed for middle class readers has certainly contributed to what Rodríguez sees as the complex relationship between feminism and modernity in her work (382). The following chapter of this dissertation will query whether as an author of fiction, Burgos expressed a more fully developed "feminist consciousness" than as an author of books written only for women (Bartky 11).

CHAPTER 5
"LA PASION DE LAS NOVELAS"¹

Introduction: The Novella

In the first few years in Madrid, Burgos's fictional output was limited to a diminutive book of stories about unrequited love, Alucinación, published in 1905.² Eduardo Zamacois's foundation of El Cuento Semanal in 1907 would give Burgos the opportunity to write not only for the typically "female" market, but to identify herself as well with the traditionally male-dominated genre of fiction. As Sainz de Robles points out in La promoción de "El cuento semanal", Zamacois's journal was the first of many *revistas* which would be published between 1907 and 1925 and through which "se dieron a conocer, y se afamaron el cincuenta por ciento de ... los 'promocionistas' de El Cuento Semanal" (53). Although Burgos was already publicly known for her didactic and journalistic activities, she would become an

¹ "Preliminar," El arte de seducir 11.

² Alucinación measures approximately two and three-quarters by five and one-quarter inches and has 95 pages. It was published in the series "Biblioteca Mignon." The dimensions and correspondingly minute print suggest that it was designed to be tucked into a purse or pocket. The following titles comprise the content: "¿Alucinación o telepatía?", "El fiscal", "¿Sacrificio!", "Una tiple", "El último encargo", "Puñaladas morales", "¿Imposible!", and "La flor de brezo."

indefatigable contributor to all of the novella series considered by Luis Granjel in one of the few books to survey that genre, Eduardo Zamacois y La Novela Corta.³

Zamacois wrote in his *memorias*, Un hombre que se va, that his intent was to convince authors of "primera figura" to contribute writings for a publication of "alta jerarquía literaria" (233). El Cuento Semanal appeared 4 January 1907 and survived until 12 January 1912, following Zamacois's original design, albeit with various directors:

Cada número, de veinticuatro páginas, de papel "couché," ... una novela corta, inédita, ilustrada en colores y con la caricatura del autor en la portada. Nada más. Colaborarían en ella los escritores y dibujantes más reputados, y aparecería los viernes--precisamente los viernes--al precio de treinta céntimos ejemplar. (230-31)

The 24-page revistas, measuring approximately eight by eleven inches, were printed in double columns and featured two-color illustrations.⁴

Zamacois resigned as director of El Cuento Semanal in December, 1908; in 1910 he established Los Contemporáneos, a

³ Granjel discusses El Cuento Semanal, Los Contemporáneos, El Libro Popular, La Novela Corta, La Novela Semanal, La Novela de Hoy, La Novela Mundial, and Los Novelistas.

He mentions other revistas which appeared during the period, but points out that, with the exception of El Libro Popular and La Novela Corta, they were of "efímera existencia."

⁴ The text of the novellas did not always fill the 24 sheets, leaving some space for advertising.

magazine with the same format as its predecessor.⁵ He writes in Un hombre que se va that he was determined to be responsible for a journal of literary merit:

No quise que ésta, mi nueva hija, superase en nada a la otra. Las dos iban impresas en el mismo papel, salían a la venta el mismo día--los viernes--y costaban igual.... Durante varios meses ambas publicaciones lucharon sin que ninguna prevaleciese. Después la mía empezó a decaer. Era lógico: *Los Contemporáneos* no tenía historia; *El Cuento Semanal*, sí, lo que bastaba para que la masa lectora lo prefiriese. Sólo cuando la jerarquía literaria del autor que yo publicaba superaba la del que esa semana firmaba la revista enemiga, *Los Contemporáneos* se vendía más. No bien empezamos a perder dinero. (253-54)

The founder's insight into the nature of the competition between the two series attests to a significant role for the authors of the novellas. As entries in the genre proliferated and competition among them intensified, the featured author's ability to attract a following would have increased his or her value to the publisher.

José Luis Mainer explains that the contest for writers in the genre was of considerable economic significance to the authors, as well:

Si ... el periodismo se constituye en la modalidad profesional más remuneradora, además de ser la plataforma política que determina una actitud y un tipo de relaciones con el público, los primeros años del siglo XX ofrecieron también al escritor nuevas formas de difundir sus obras de imaginación al margen del libro. Me refiero a la continua aparición de colecciones de novelas breves--de

⁵ After the suicide in 1908 of Zamacois's partner, Antonio Galiardo, ownership of the magazine was awarded to his widow, Rita Segret. Zamacois chose to resign rather than relinquish full control.

periodicidad semanal, de bajo costo y de distribución muy amplia y rápida.... El estudio de estas colecciones de relatos breves plantea un doble problema: uno literario ...; otro crematístico, ya que cabría plantearse en qué medida la demanda industrial de novelas breves condicionó la oferta de los escritores. (La Edad de Plata 71)

Núñez Rey adds that "[p]ara ningún escritor resultaba desdeñable colaborar, y para muchos suponía la fama" (diss 270).

In 1916, the publisher Prensa Popular, inspired by the success of Zamacois's journals, developed a new series called La Novela Corta. Its format was considerably smaller than its predecessors, approximately five by eight inches, with 34 pages of "papel de infima calidad," and lacking illustrations, but for the drawing or photograph of the author on the cover.⁶ It sold at the low price of five céntimos, which was doubled to ten in two years (Granjel 80). A repercussion of that competition was that Los Contemporáneos changed its format. Beginning in 1918, poorer quality paper was used, the quantity of illustrations was reduced, and the price was lowered. In order to compete more effectively, La Novela Corta in turn made improvements in its appearance, enriching the texts with illustrations and featuring a caricature of the author on its cover, instead of the "malas fotografías" of previous years

⁶ Fernández Cifuentes explains in Teoría y mercado de novela that there was a scarcity of paper after the outbreak of World War I and the two principal newspaper groups monopolized its production (125).

(Granjel 81). In spite of the obstacles it faced, however, Los Contemporáneos achieved sales of 40,000 copies of some editions toward the end of its existence in 1923.⁷

Zamacois's design for a widely distributed weekly novel at an economical price had its roots in the popular nineteenth-century *folletín* and *novela por entregas*. Nevertheless, he clearly intended that the literary, as well as the physical, quality of El Cuento Semanal would distinguish it from the popular fiction of the past. Pledging to publish in each work "una 'obra de arte' inédita y completa," he attested that he would accept "no sólo las firmas ya consagradas de los maestros, sino también las de esos jóvenes que hoy luchan en la sombra todavía, pero que están llamados a ser los conquistadores del mañana" (qtd. in Granjel 53).

Following the model of El cuento semanal, the first or second issue of each new series often featured a similar statement of literary intent. La Novela Corta focused on its potential readers rather than the originality of its contents, particularly emphasizing class-conscious social goals:

[L]a obra emprendida se orienta a 'elevar el nivel cultural de un país, a 'dignificar al obrero' y se añade, 'Gracias a nosotros, esas vergonzosas polémicas taurinas del bajo pueblo, entre quién es mejor si Belmonte y Joselito, desaparecerán. El artesano, en vez de toros, hablará de letras, y el

⁷ It was, at that time, under the editorial directorship of Martínez Olmedilla.

obrero, al salir de los talleres, discutirá sobre quien escribe mejor, si Benavente o Galdós, si Blasco Ibáñez o Baroja, si Dicenta o Valle-Inclán.' (qtd. in Granjel 83)

It seems clear from the statement in La Novela Corta that Prensa Popular expected to claim the audience which had not typically read "high" fiction, but had probably read newspapers and the "low" fiction that often accompanied them. Although the readership of the myriad series of novellas cannot be verified, it is unlikely that the the genre reformed the "bajo pueblo" as the editors of La Novela Corta may have hoped. It is more probable that the authors of Ideología y texto en "El Cuento Semanal" are accurate in identifying the audience as

gente susceptible de cierto interés por lo que llaman el 'Arte' en general y la vida literaria en particular, pero a quien el esfuerzo continuo que exige la lectura de una novela, así como el precio de ésta, pueden aparecer como obstáculos. Se trata, pues, esencialmente, de hombres y mujeres dispuestos a gastarse unos 0.30 céntimos en fin de semana para dedicar algún rato de ocio a una actividad de 'cultura' o evasión y para poseer, a final de año, mediante un gasto tanto más módico cuanto que va repartido semanalmente, este objeto de orgullo y significativo de cierto status social que suele representar para algunas categorías sociales un libro encuadernado y más bien lujoso en su presentación. (29-30)

That study explains, furthermore, that El Cuento Semanal would not have been destined for the marginally literate, for "la impresión a dos columnas y con caracteres más bien diminutos requiere cierto hábito de la lectura" (30); it estimates that "un lector mediano" would have spent about two hours reading the text (29 fn).

Nevertheless, the literary sophistication of the reader should not be overestimated; Zamacois clearly addressed the less experienced reader in the first edition of El Cuento Semanal: "[l]as ventajas de nuestra Revista son notorias: ... los libros suelen ser caros, y una gran parte del público los halla de lenta y fatigosa lectura" (qtd. in Ideología y texto 35). In a later edition, his successor, Franciso Agramonte, mentions consideration for "'la gentil lectora'" in his statement of editorial intent thus indicating the importance of female readers (34). When the comments made in La Novela Corta are also considered, however, it is clear that the genre was intended to reach a far wider audience than simply women. As Núñez Rey points out, almost all of the prose writers living during the first third of the century wrote for the novella collections, including the "máximas figuras" and representing various literary movements from "Realismo" to "Vanguardismo;" she states that "[a]quel vasto despliegue editorial atrajo a amplias masas de lectores" (diss 270). Indeed, these "amplias masses" may well have been a direct result of the heterogeneity of the novella series; while European modernism was characterized by a high/low dichotomy, publishers of the novellas were attempting to stake out a middle ground.

The diverse audience and long-lasting repercussions of the weekly novella can be confirmed by Luis Buñuel's

confessed readership of the genre. In Conversaciones con Buñuel, he tells Max Aub that, before going to Madrid as a young man, he read,

Los de todos, los que hemos leído todos. Toda la serie de detectives de entonces: Nat Pinker, Sherlock Holmes, Nick Carter, Dick Turpin, los folletines de Ponson du Terrail, Raffles, Salgari.... Luego, claro está, todo lo relacionado con el sexo--que era muy poco--que podía haber en la biblioteca de mi padre. Pero allí, antes de irme a Madrid, leí a Rousseau, a Voltaire.... Y no sé si por aquel entonces, creo que el dieciocho, a Schopenhauer y a Nietzsche en las ediciones de Sempere y, claro está, antes de irme a Madrid, La Novela Semanal y La Novela Corta. (111-12)

Burgos wrote not only for the two series mentioned by Buñuel, but for all of the series to which Granjel refers as well. Granjel relates that she was the most prolific author for La Novela Corta, penning 27 novellas for that series between 1916 and 1925.⁸ In addition to her work for La Novela Corta and Zamacois's two series, she wrote for El Libro Popular from 1912 to 1914, La Novela de Bolsillo in 1914, La Novela con Regalo in 1916 and 1917, La Novela para Todos in 1916, La Novela Contemporánea, probably in 1917, La Novela Semanal from 1921 to 1925, La Novela Gráfica in 1923, La Novela Mundial in 1926 and 1927, La Novela de Hoy from 1929 to 1932, and La Novela Femenina (n.d.).⁹

⁸ Núñez Rey's dissertation, which provides the most complete bibliography of Burgos's works, identifies 26 contributions to La Novela Corta.

⁹ Such titles as La Novela con Regalo insinuate the length to which some editors would go to attract readers.

This chapter will examine three novellas authored by Burgos. The first is her initial novela breve, El tesoro del castillo, published in 1907 by El Cuento Semanal. The second is El honor de la familia, published in the same series in 1911. The third is La Flor de la Playa, published by La Novela Corta in 1920. By choosing works published over a thirteen-year span, one is able to consider samples of Burgos's earlier and later writing. Another factor in the selection is that the female protagonist of each novella is positioned within, while manifesting a degree of resistance to, domestic ideology. Furthermore, the novella's settings reflect Burgos's trajectory as she continuously searched for a location which would favor her career: Rodalquilar, Toledo, Madrid, and the area near Estoril in Portugal. In each, the protagonist refuses to be restricted by the space allocated to her, moving along a path over which she has varying degrees of control. There is, moreover, a subtext demonstrating that the protagonists' relation to their environments corresponds to their efforts to originate their own texts. They may be seen as a reflection of Burgos's literary aspirations and her ultimate candor in communicating, especially in regard to the domestic ideal.

"[U]na carretera, sin obstaculos"¹⁰

"El tesoro del castillo"

Burgos's first novela breve, El tesoro del castillo, appeared in the twenty-fifth week of El Cuento Semanal, 21 June 1907. Núñez Rey describes Burgos's previous forays into fiction writing (in Ensayos literarios and Alucinación) as "esbozos narrativos"; their brevity prevents more than a cursory sketch of the characters and the relationships between them (diss 233). In "Piecing and Writing," Elaine Showalter discusses similar trajectories among American women writers, who progressed from the "sketch or piece written for ladies' magazines or albums" to the construction of extended narrative fiction (229). Although Burgos wrote in the Spanish tradition, Showalter's perspective is pertinent. As with the American authors Showalter discusses, Burgos's marginal status as a female in the traditionally male field of journalism resulted in her being assigned short pieces on "women's topics." Moreover, her economic needs caused her to experience demands on her time similar to those Showalter describes for American women novelists.

Showalter points out that "[w]hile the sustained effort of a novel might be impossible for a woman whose day was shattered by constant interruption, the short narrative piece, quickly imagined and written, and usually based on a

¹⁰ La Flor de la Playa 349

single idea, could be more easily completed" (229-30). Her observations are germane to Burgos, whose single-parent status and multi-faceted career would certainly have fragmented her time. In La novela de un literato, Cansinos-Assens recounts a visit to Burgos which sustains this assumption:

"Está pelando patatas y dictándole al mismo tiempo a un joven flaco, ... una *interview* que acaba de celebrar con Mr. Naquet.... De cuando en cuando, la periodista deja de dictar y corre a la cocina, donde chirria el aceite.

'Perdonen ustedes..., tengo que terminar esta *interview* que ha de salir esta misma noche en El Heraldo... Maruja no moleste a estos señores..., vuélvete al sofá, con tu muñeca... ¿Dónde íbamos, Lorenzo?... Ah, sí.... espera, que se me quema el aceite... Bueno, ya estoy aquí.'" (189)

Burgos reflected her awareness of the profound difference between writing short and long pieces in the "Autobiografía" originally written for Prometeo in 1909:¹¹

¿Libros? Muchas traducciones y muchos prólogos.... Ahora empiezo mi labor seria. Permítame usted que guarde silencio acerca de todo lo que preparo. Baste decir sólo que hasta que he recibido todas las lecciones de la vida y llevo tantos años de escritora, no me he atrevido a escribir mi primera novela. Miro la novela con miedo. Es la diosa de la literatura. (Al balcón xii)

The format of El Cuento Semanal, with its double-columned text of small print, although certainly not as long as a novel, would require Burgos to construct a more protracted narrative piece than she had in the past.

¹¹ The version from which I cite was re-written for Al balcón (1913?).

Showalter's article relates narrative writing to the art of quilt-making. She defines piecing as "the technique of assembling fragments into an intricate and ingenious design" (227); next, the "assembled patches are ... attached to a heavy backing with either simple or elaborate stitches in the process called quilting" (223). The production of a quilt is an artistic process with analogies to writing "on the level of the sentence, then in terms of the structure of a story or novel, and finally the images, motifs, or symbols ... that unify a fictional work" (223). Although Showalter proposes "a downhome, downright Yankee historical approach," correlations between the pen and the needle, even images of quilting, need not be restricted to American literature (222).¹² Indeed, a similar correlation exists in the Spanish tradition where a centón is both a covering constructed from small pieces of differently colored fabrics and a literary work composed by the joining together of imported elements. As we have seen, Burgos confessed that her first articles for her father-in-law's newspaper were written with scissors.¹³ Moreover, her self-conscious

¹² Although thought of as quintessentially American, garments and covers made of scraps of previously used cloth have a much longer history. The use of fabric remnants as well as the quilting or over stitching of various layers was known as a way to add strength and warmth to fabric in the Middle Ages.

¹³ "Después escribí con las tijeras para completar un periódico satírico. Mi primer artículo mereció los honores de la crítica y la reproducción fuera de la provincia..." (Al balcón xi).

expression of the affinity between the pen and the needle in the Prologue to La cocina moderna reveals that she herself applied the writing and sewing analogy to her work.

Showalter explains that "[a]s the novel became the dominant genre of nineteenth-century American writing, women adapted the techniques of literary piecing to the structural and temporal demands of the new literary mode" (229). She writes that Harriet Beecher Stowe, for example, as she was writing "Uncle Tom's Cabin, serialized in short weekly installments, ... continued to think of her writing as the stitching together of scenes" (233). Showalter concludes that the novel "was not a break with Stowe's narrative technique but rather developed out of her earlier writing and 'was of a piece with it'" (citing Kirkland 233-34). This section will consider similar affinities between Burgos's earlier nonfiction writings and her novellas. It will, in addition, note connections between her female protagonist and her prescriptions for being loved in El arte de ser amada.

El tesoro del castillo tells a story of rural workers on an estate, or cortijo, in the vicinity of Rodalquilar, Burgos's childhood home in the province of Almería. It is a multi-layered tale of fruitless searches by various residents of the region for buried treasure, searches which eventually result in their discovery of other ostensibly more meaningful values. Tío Manuel, overseer of the cortijo

and local story-teller, frequently recounts legends of riches left behind by the Moors; they inspire Juanillo, a young "criado pobretón" who works for tío Manuel, to undertake a quest for the treasure. Juanillo's motivation is not avarice: he is willing to work hard and does not covet wealth, but he believes he needs to be prosperous to win the favor of tío Manuel's daughter Dolores.

Dolores has announced that she prefers to marry "aquel vegestorio [sic] de Gaspar el molinero," (2) not "por amor," but for money. His economic well-being guarantees that she will not suffer the poverty which saps most local women of their strength and beauty. Gaspar is hardly an ideal spousal candidate, for his "palabras de pasión" to Dolores "zumbaban como latigazos en sus oídos" (10).¹⁴ Furthermore, in the eyes of Dolores's father, Gaspar's past, which included an association with Carlist forces, makes him less than desirable in spite of his affluence.

Juanillo, convinced that Dolores will marry him if he is wealthy, reveals to her that he has dreamed of riches buried nearby. Assuring Dolores that he has verified the existence of the site, he persuades her to accompany him on his quest. They do not find the cache, but, as they fall into each other's arms, "el primer rayo de sol rasgó las nubes como si viniera a saludar el triunfo de la naturaleza

¹⁴ The pages of El Cuento Semanal are not numbered. I have numbered them, with page one being the first page of Burgos's text.

y de la carne.... ¡Habían encontrado su tesoro!" (18). In spite of Juanillo's lowly status, tío Manuel sanctions their future union.

El tesoro del castillo predates the period between 1911 and 1913 which I have proposed for the publication of El arte de ser amada. There are, nonetheless, interesting similarities in construction in the two texts. As seen in Chapter 4, Burgos's practical manuals, such as El arte de ser amada, could be characterized as quilts, formed by the author's stitching together scraps of fabric, or information, taken from other sources, joined to a backing of original material. By assembling such a text, Burgos was able to increase her production and to expand the literary experiences of her female audience. This section will show how Burgos, in her first extended narrative, uses a similar technique, a "stitching together of scenes."

It is unlikely that early twentieth-century readers of Spanish fiction would countenance such a blatant use of materials snipped from the works of contemporaneous authors as in Ser amada. Instead, in El tesoro del castillo, Burgos utilizes multiple narrators as a means of piecing traditional legends into the novella. The primary narrator, whose gender and identity are not defined, stitches the novella together against the backing of the cortijo. The narrator introduces tío Manuel, a secondary narrator, commenting that the latter's weakness is the recounting,

"con cierto aire de filósofo aventuras leídas en sus libros, de las cuales se presentaba como héroe, y aprovechaba todas las ocasiones para encajarlas con la indispensable muletilla: 'Era allá por los tiempos de la Reina'" (2). The primary narrator adds that tío Manuel is an "excelente cuentista; sabía buscar los efectos en su oratoria improvisada, redondeaba los puntos con cierto énfasis y buscaba los latiguillos con el mismo arte que un atildado conferenciante de Ateneo" (2). Readers are told that the repetitiveness of tío Manuel's legends sometimes bores the audience; nevertheless, they inspire Juanillo's dreams of treasure which he, in turn, recounts to Dolores.

Burgos does not, however, create a separate voice for tío Manuel, with the exception of the infrequent occasions when he converses with other characters. Instead, the primary narrator acts as a witness to his story-telling events, describing him relating the tales. In this way, Burgos is able to recount "his" stories without changing the linguistic register to the more rural and less educated one that such a person would have used. This technique enables her to lengthen the text by incorporating, probably with very little modification, the regional tales and legends which may well have constituted her youthful reading or listening. Her lack of experience in writing sustained fictional narratives, together with her need to generate

income, might well have prompted a verbatim inclusion of such familiar material.

Showalter points out that "piecing is an art of scarcity, ingenuity, conservation, and order: 'You're given just so much to work with in a life and you have to do the best you can with what you got'" (qting. Cooper and Buford 228). The educational and literary scarcity experienced by women in nineteenth-century southern Spain could certainly have induced Burgos to conserve the limited materials available to her; re-deploying them through the pretext of an embedded narrator is the kind of ingenious re-use of that material to which Showalter refers. It is unlikely that Burgos would have been able to write so prodigiously without recycling the experiences she had both lived and read. This technique would have enabled her to both respond more effectively to her own economic dilemma and, perhaps, to better compete with more experienced male writers.

The primary narrator's introduction of tío Manuel sets his traditional tales apart from the foregrounded contemporary story about the residents of the cortijo. Moreover, in comparing tío Manuel to speakers in the Ateneo, the first narrator situates him/herself as familiar with the oratory heard there. The primary narrator's parallel between the oratorial elegance of a village elder who "sabía un poco de letra" and ostensibly more sophisticated speakers casts a shadow of derision over both (2). As Núñez Rey

points out, Burgos and Emilia Pardo Bazán were, in 1905, the first women in the Ateneo. Thus, it is likely that Burgos was inspired by that experience to comment on discursive technique.

As one surveys the totality of novellas she would eventually author, however, a style similar to that of tío Manuel's emerges: her fictional texts often begin with an imprecise identification of time similar to the "Aquella noche" of this text and the "Era allá" of his. Moreover, while Burgos does not specifically identify herself as the protagonist of her novellas as does tío Manuel, most of them feature a female attempting to resolve social problems which confront the dominant domestic ideology.

As we have seen, Burgos undertook what must have been the difficult decisions of leaving her husband and establishing her writing career almost simultaneously. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the issues of female creative fulfillment and male/female relationships were intertwined for her. As formative elements in her literary consciousness, it is very likely that they would have occupied an important place in her obra. Moreover, Burgos's prodigious output of novellas indicates that she found her technique to be effective in procuring additional assignments. In the end, her novellas reproduce some of the traits she attributes to the character she has created.

Nonetheless, Burgos exhibits a sensibility toward differentiating her "modern" authorship from the old-fashioned interpolated tales. The text begins with the primary narrator's picturesque description of a moonlit celebration of corn husking. The narrator seems to revel in his/her lexical facility, constructing long phrases replete with regional language, alliteration, and sexual metaphors:

En el centro de la empedrada era se apilaban las panochas envueltas en su sayal de estameña, por el cual aparecían las hebras de una cabellera seca y marchita. Sobre la pila, una gran espuerta de dar el pienso a las vacas iba recibiendo a las que eran despojadas de su ropaje por la turba de chiquillos, hombres y mujeres, que sentados sobre las falfollas [sic], mullidas y crujientes, rompían con pinchos de madera la tosca envoltura, la seda interior guardada bajo ella, y después de separarlas del tallo con rumor suspirante, las arrojaban al aire, rasgado con sus destellos de luz, para ir a caer en la espuerta, donde al chocar las facetas de los granos de oro, producían chasquido de besos y risas de colegialas.

Aquel rasgar ropajes y desnudar mazorcas se verificaba entre la alegre charla y algazara de los mozuolos de ambos sexos, ... (1)

Furthermore, by demonstrating an intimate understanding of regional customs and language, the primary narrator becomes an expert guide for urban readers, known to be the greatest audience for El Cuento Semanal. In one instance, it is necessary for the narrator to "translate" tío Manuel's speech: his use of the word "cabañuelas," apparently a local term, is explained in a footnote as "Así llaman allí a ciertas señales del cielo, anunciadoras del tiempo en el año futuro" (1). The narrator further reveals an intimacy with the topic by replicating what is probably local

pronunciation of the word "falfollas," which is given as "farfolla" in the Diccionario de la Lengua Española.¹⁵ It is likely that Zamacois knew that Burgos was from the area featured in the novella; he may even have requested that she write about the region, assuming, as did Sempere, that her writing should be linked to her presumed areas of expertise.¹⁶

As the first section of this chapter explained, Zamacois's plan for the success of El cuento semanal was predicated on bridging a literary gap; it would utilize popular distribution similar to that associated with "low" literature for a journal of "high" literary category (233). Burgos's text might well have attracted readers whose literary tastes leaned toward the folletines which were still being published and may have competed with El Cuento Semanal. The title, El tesoro del castillo, evokes those of historical novels popular in the previous century such as

¹⁵ The substitution of /l/ for /r/, called lambdacism, reflects rural pronunciation. The same variation is heard in modern Puerto Rican Spanish.

¹⁶ In Almería, Burgos eventually achieved great fame. Núñez Rey relates that in 1913, upon return from a trip to Argentina, Burgos's entrance "por el puerto de Almería fue apoteósico. Bandos del alcalde anunciando su llegada, primeras páginas de los periódicos, recibimiento con banderas de las representaciones obreras, banda de música, cohetes, posterior conferencia en el prestigioso Círculo Mercantil e Industrial sobre sus impresiones de Argentina" (Flor 30-31).

Los tesoros de la Alhambra of 1832 (Romero Tobar 44 n. 34).¹⁷ Yet, the story of the cortijo confronts issues such as rural poverty, the unequal distribution of wealth, and women's domestic servitude, which formed part of the contemporary political discussion.

The textual fabric which results is an assemblage of costumbrista, legendary, historical, and modern elements which maintain their individual colorations. Tío Manuel's narrative, wherein his protagonist in turn narrates his story to another, is occasionally so intricate as to complicate the overall design of the text. Yet, it is likely that the construction of El tesoro del castillo, in which the individual elements could be separately enjoyed, would appeal to the less sophisticated audience not accustomed to lengthy narratives posited by Zamacois. Tío Manuel's stories provide natural points at which the reader could take up and put down the novella in a "rato de ocio" as also suggested by the authors of Ideología y texto.

Showalter points out that American women writing novels before the Civil War "'saw themselves not as 'artists' but as professional writers with work to do: 'The literary women conceptualized authorship as a profession rather than a calling, as work and not art'" (citing Baym 229). Burgos,

¹⁷ Romero Tobar cites the "reciente aparición" [1960s] of Los misterios del castillo as evidence of the continuing popularity into the twentieth century of popular stories evoking a mysterious Spanish past (226 n. 51).

who in 1907 was beginning to write narrative fiction, indicated in the Prologue to La cocina moderna [1906-1909] that she considered herself in those terms. Although Showalter is addressing a period about 50 years earlier, the lack of a tradition of female writers in Spain could account for Burgos's correspondence to an earlier period in a country with a greater female literacy. In 1907, Burgos was still primarily a translator and a journalist; the economic straits which compelled her to concentrate on production, as well as the nature of the pieces allotted to her, likely strengthened for her the association of writing with work.

The motif of the inserted tales reinforces the overarching theme of the novella that residents of the area are sharply aware of their poverty and anxious to alleviate it. Tío Manuel's solution involves the fantastic intervention of "un hombre nonagenario, de barba blanquísima" with "una varita mágica" (4). Dolores, on the contrary, adopts the more pragmatic solution of marrying Gaspar. Yet, her search for financial comfort is not without inner conflict and generates the dilemma which structures the novella: will she be content with the loveless union, or choose to sacrifice her desired economic well-being in order to "ser amada?" The ending seems, on the surface, to leave little doubt as to the correctness of her decision: Dolores and Juanillo appear to have a love match which is supported by her father; even nature

sanctifies their discovery of mutual passion. Yet, the name "Dolores," as well as the silhouette of her sister Frasquita hovering behind her, hint at the possibility of an alternative future less rosy than it might at first appear.

In the context of Showalter's quilt metaphor, Dolores and Frasquita are the recurring images which generate the overall coloration of the novella's fabric. In order to interpret the tone of the novella, the appearance of each of them, as well as the distinctions between them, must be considered. Dolores, "una muchacha frescota y lozana, de formas redondas y caderas amplias," is first depicted in contrast to Frasquita, "la hija casada, ... una mujercita anciana a los veinte años, seca y marchita, con el talle sin curvas y el cabello escaso, agotada por la debilidad de un organismo sometido a la esclavitud moruna de la hembra andaluza" (2). How might the reader envision the cloth which represents her? I would like to suggest a faded and gauzy scrap, dull brown in hue, perhaps a remnant from an Arabic face veil. It would scarcely be sturdy enough for re-use. The recurrence of Frasquita's patch would both muddy the appearance of the final product and contribute to its fragility.

Dolores, on the contrary, is often represented outdoors where "la luna daba una palidez azulina a la tez blanca del rostro y a las manos, ...; las largas pestañas espesas marcaban a los ojos, grandes, un círculo de sombra; los

cabellos, de un negro intenso, parecían despedir reflejos metálicos, y el pañuelo de Manila se plegaba al talle de escultura" (3). The visually evocative language which Burgos uses to describe Dolores leads the reader to imagine a very different cloth: perhaps the deep black silk of the traditional pañuelo de Manila, embroidered with shiny black, white, pale blue and metallic threads. The pieces representing Dolores would certainly outshine those signifying Frasquita. Nevertheless, the presence of Frasquita's lackluster and flimsy scraps would trouble the resulting fabric, detracting from its beauty and suggesting the deterioration that results from overuse.

Burgos leaves no doubt as to the particulars of Frasquita's esclavitud, for she is always portrayed in the family cottage, working hard at domestic chores: "Frasquita, en cuclillas en un ángulo de la cocina, fregaba el perol y las cucharas de la cena en un gran barreño de barro" (13). Not even depicted in the human's upright position, Frasquita is described in the scientific lexicon of animal husbandry and equated to an organism weakened by exploitation. A comparable affinity in which appearance is the outward indication of health also emerges from Burgos's writing on beauty in such practical manuals as Salud y belleza.¹⁸

¹⁸ This is true not only of Salud y belleza, but is a constant concomitant of Burgos's treatment of beauty in the other manuals as well.

Unlike Frasquita, Dolores is portrayed as the epitome of the southern Spanish beauty; her black hair and eyes, white skin, and ample hips, exemplify the "criterio árabe" of beauty which Burgos would later cite repeatedly in such practical manuals as the Salud y belleza texts, El arte de ser mujer, and in Ser amada.¹⁹ While scarcely a realistic model for the urban, middle-class reader of those texts, the paradigm is even less credible for a rural peasant living in a sun-baked climate. Dolores's white skin could be logically explained by her reluctance to work, whether indoors or out. When she is contrasted to Frasquita, however, the association between appearance and the female role becomes even more clear. Dolores's beauty manifests her healthy vigor; Frasquita's domestic servitude has robbed her of those attributes.

If any doubt remains as to the differing commitment of the sisters to domestic labor, the primary narrator adds that Dolores "era ambiciosilla, no quería trabajar, tenía humos de señorío.... Las mujeres son el demonio cuando reflexionan y tienen cabecita" (2). Dolores thinks rather than work; she considers other options and rejects, at least temporarily, the traditional role accepted by her sister.

¹⁹ "Cuatro cosas negras: los cabellos, las cejas, las pestañas y las pupilas; tres cosas blancas: la piel, el cristal del ojo y los dientes; cinco cosas rosadas: la lengua, los labios, las encías, las mejillas y las uñas; ... cuatro cosas grandes: la frente, los ojos, los riñones y las caderas" (15).

In contrast to Frasquita, Dolores's good looks signal the reproductive potential of a woman not debilitated and animalized by domestic servitude. Her shapely form and wide hips insinuate her potential for passion and maternity while Frasquita, already aged by the traditional female role, holds little promise as a good prospect for the reproduction usually associated with it.

In The Gender of Modernity, Rita Felski addresses the predominance of symbols "explicitly gendered" as masculine which served to identify the modern with the public and to locate woman "outside processes of history and social change" (16). Woman, on the contrary, was featured in Romantic texts as "a redemptive refuge from the constraints of civilization" (16). She was "[s]een to be less specialized and differentiated than man, located within the household and an intimate web of familial relations, more closely linked to nature through her reproductive capacity..." (16). As such, she would have been excluded from the modern sphere in which "critical, and self-critical, human reason" was privileged. Felski points out, in addition, that "the idea of the modern was deeply implicated from its beginnings with a project of domination over those seen to lack this capacity for reflective reasoning" (14).

In the context of Felski's observations, Burgos's characterization of Dolores sharply differentiates her from

Romantic predecessors. Instead, she is marked as a modern woman whose thinking removes her from household work. Moreover, in a clearly patriarchal culture, Dolores attempts to design her own future. Dolores's existence as the protagonist of the novella locates women within the processes of social change envisioned by Burgos and contemporary feminists. Yet, while such autonomy would, as Felski indicates, be valued in a male, it is seen as a problem in Dolores. If Dolores were permitted to carry out her decision to marry Gaspar, she would risk disturbing the social order on several levels: her autonomy would locate her closer to the masculine rational sphere, distancing her from her reproductive capacity. Instead, Dolores has an epiphanic experience which eventually leads her to neglect her rational goals.

When Dolores views Juanillo as a sexual object revealed by the moonlight, he awakens in her the passion she had not felt for Gaspar:

la figura esbelta del muchacho, alto, delgado, de cabellos castaños y ardientes ojos, se destacaba envuelta en luz sobre el fondo del campo; ... y le pareció bello como ella, con su camisa blanca, el chaleco obscuro, la faja color de sangre and la revuelta cabellera espesa. (11)

Her reaction suggests that she would be far less troubled sharing the marriage bed with him than with the older suitor. Juanillo, like Dolores, is distinguished by his good looks; her attraction to him seems to be stimulated by his resemblance to her own appearance, suggesting that she

also views herself as a desirable sexual object. With their thick hair and sparkling eyes, the couple is pictured as a matching pair embodying youth and health.

On the contrary, Dolores's union with the older Gaspar would be "una juventud mal empleada" according to her father (2). Tio Manuel's suggestion that Dolores's youth would be wasted on Gaspar contributes to the notion that, with him, Dolores would not fulfill her reproductive potential. The pairing of Dolores and Juanillo, both specimens embodying canonical beauty, augurs a more biologically sound future generation than that of Dolores and Gaspar.

As Penny Boumelha writes in Thomas Hardy and Women, "The Darwinistic evolutionary perspective is the impulse behind the widespread and growing concern, towards the end of the century, with eugenics. The choice of a sexual partner, when biological inheritance is all and environment nothing, becomes a matter, not of personal emotion, but of public concern, for upon it depends the continuation and evolutionary progress of 'the race'" (19).

Addressing the use of evolutionary narratives in feminist discourse, Felski writes that, "enacting a negotiation with the prevailing intellectual vocabulary of the time, they [feminists] sought to demonstrate not only the desirability but also the inevitability of women's emancipation" (155). She explains, furthermore, that

"[f]eminists frequently resorted to eugenic theories to insist that women's presence in education, the workplace and the public realm would lead not to the depletion of the race, as conservatives feared, but rather to a population of healthier and more vigorous bodies" (155). The union of Dolores and Juanillo would be far more likely to assure such a result than that of Dolores and Gaspar.

Furthermore, the reproductive potential inherent in Dolores's marriage to Juanillo channels her desire into a culturally approved course. Boumelha points out that "the preoccupation with biological inheritance and transmission tended ... towards the containment of sexuality, and especially though not exclusively of female sexuality, within the area of procreation" (20). As a female who admits to desire and whose beauty is recognized, Dolores could be the kind of destabilizing female described by Stephanie Smith in Conceived by Liberty. Smith points out the danger inherent in the female "'whose freedom from the restricting bounds of domesticity endowed her with demonic magical powers, including the power to mesmerize and paralyze men'" (citing Halttunen 98).

While it is certainly plausible that Dolores will enjoy happiness with Juanillo in the short term, her rejection of Gaspar means that she accepts the reproductive responsibility assigned to her by the patriarchal system which her father represents. Moreover, she surrenders to

the conditions of poverty depicted in Tío Manuel's stories and embodied in Frasquita. The reader cannot help but wonder if Dolores, like her sister, will eventually be debilitated in that process. On the other hand, she might continue to refuse domestic tasks with the potential, in that culture, of destabilizing the social order. The ending, which seems on the surface to offer a final resolution of Dolores's marriage dilemma, leaves pending such issues as rural poverty and women's domestic burden. As Núñez Rey has observed, Burgos's novellas are frequently "sin verdadero desenlace" (Flor 50). If, as I will show, Burgos's novellas represent the friction inherent in woman's search for self-realization in a male-dominated society, the lack of a clear outcome is consistent with her consciousness of the unfolding cultural process in which she was involved.

Dolores attempts, within the limited possibilities available to her, to map out her own course. Nevertheless, Burgos shows that within the context of rural southern Spain, her degree of control is circumscribed by the marriage options available to her. Thus, she decides to follow Juanillo along the path he recommends, hoping that by traveling with him she will satisfy both of her desires. That possibility relies on the implausible narration of the discovery of buried treasure; such fictions are presented as foolish and irrelevant to the lives of the villagers as well as to Dolores.

Burgos's apparently conventional solution, predicated on the romantic love of two stereotypically young and handsome characters, does not coincide with the position on companion marriage she later articulates in Ser amada. Dolores and Juanillo's union is based more on the kind of titillating sexual encounters suggested by the title and cover of that work, but not mentioned in the text. Furthermore, it appears to lead to the probable domestication of Dolores. As I have mentioned, novella authors were under constant pressure to demonstrate the ability to attract an audience. A strictly female readership would not be sufficient to assure success and secure further contracts for the author. Thus, Burgos may have been consciously avoiding the appearance of an overly "female" text. Tania Modleski writes in Loving with a Vengeance that

female protagonists and female popular fiction cannot claim for themselves the kind of status male heroes and male texts so often claim.... We need not list here the dreary catalogue of devices used in the male text to disable the female and thus assert masculine superiority (the grapefruit mashed in the woman's face by one 'tragic hero'). At the end of a majority of popular narratives the woman is disfigured, dead, or at the very least, domesticated. And her downfall is seen as anything but tragic. (12)

Nevertheless, the Dolores/ Juanillo/ Gaspar triangle focuses the text on the larger question of women's role in contemporary Spanish culture. It raises issues of women's happiness, their need for economic protection, and the

societal imperative to reproduce. Burgos chooses not to create a solution whereby all of Dolores's needs and desires are fulfilled. Indeed, in light of her experience, it is difficult to imagine that Burgos would conceive any sort of utopian resolution to this vital cultural issue. Rather, Dolores's role is to compromise her economic well-being in order to satisfy, at least temporarily, her emotional requirements and the patriarchal imperative to reproduce. Burgos nonetheless simultaneously troubles Dolores's acquiescence by adding the paradigm of Frasquita.

Núñez Rey identifies El tesoro del castillo as Burgos's first fictional work in what would become a "ciclo de Rodalquilar" resulting in the creation of a "mundo mítico" (Flor 47). In her opinion, the cycle represents one of Burgos's major themes: "la nostalgia del paraíso perdido" (Flor 50). It is true that in the "Autobiografía" written for Prometeo in 1909, Burgos reiterates the positive value of her childhood experience in the Almería region: "En esa tierra mora, en mi inolvidable Rodalquilar, se formó libremente mi espíritu y se desarrolló mi cuerpo. Nadie me habló de Dios ni de leyes" (ix). At least at that writing, the area represented an edenic state where she had remained oblivious to the social and religious codes which would later complicate her life. Nevertheless, in El tesoro del castillo, and to a far greater degree in Frasca la tonta (also published as Venganza), she expresses a clear

awareness of the problems intrinsic to the area.²⁰ Burgos's characterization of Frasquita as a victim of the "esclavitud moruna de la hembra andaluza" indicates her consciousness of the particularly negative impact on women of the cultural traditions of southern Spain.

It is important to consider that, although Burgos voiced her love for the childhood freedom she enjoyed in the nature of the area, her later experiences were far less positive. It was there that she married young, apparently by her own insistence. This dissertation has addressed the oppressive circumstances surrounding the termination of that marriage. Of necessity, Burgos's chosen route of self-determination led her away from Almeria. It is not surprising, then, that she would have depicted a woman in that area as having circumscribed choices.

In my opinion, Rodalquilar illustrates, in this text and in the others situated there, Burgos's ambivalent relationship to the Spanish cultural and literary heritage which situated her on the threshold of modernity. She celebrates the music, rural fiestas, and customs of her youth, reiterating costumbrista-like writing rooted in the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, her cognizance of the continuity of culturally-inscribed patterns which impede social and economic progress leads her to create such

²⁰ Frasca la tonta was published by El Libro Popular on 30 June 1914. The same story appeared as Venganza in La Novela Corta, 17 August 1918.

heavily-coded characters as Frasquita, who can only be seen as an impediment to Spanish modernization. Dolores, who is a better candidate to regenerate the the Almerian people, may represent merely an intermediate stage in the propagation of the New Woman, but Frasquita is a clear symbol of the negative consequences of women's historical role. The novellas under consideration in this chapter reveal a connection between the options available to the protagonists and the locations in which they are situated. In the next section, I will discuss the setting of El honor de la familia, Toledo, as the locus of those repressive cultural forces which to Burgos continue the worst of Spanish tradition.

El honor de la familia

El honor de la familia was Burgos's fourth work for El Cuento Semanal, published in the fifth year of the journal, 1911. It is, then, approximately contemporaneous with the years I have suggested for the publication of El arte de ser amada. By 1911, in addition to her extensive nonfiction writings, Burgos had authored three novellas for El Cuento Semanal, one for Los Contemporáneos; the collection Cuentos de Colombine had been published, and she had written her first long novel, Los inadaptados.²¹ Thus, Burgos was

²¹ Burgos wrote two novellas for El Cuento Semanal between El tesoro del castillo and El honor de la familia: Senderos de vida (1908) and En la guerra (1909). Zamacois had left El Cuento Semanal in 1908. His new journal, Los Contemporáneos, published Burgos's El veneno del arte in

considerably more experienced in the creation of longer narrative fiction than when she had authored El tesoro del castillo.

Unlike the first novella discussed, El honor de la familia does not have a plot which is complicated by inserted tales that can serve to muddle the focus. Instead, the text adheres closely to the limited cast of characters, the chronology, and the location pertinent to the development of the central enigma. The novella narrates the plight of the descendents, all female, of the "ilustres Girones de Toledo, la más rancia nobleza de Castilla," providing a complicated series of events to explain the premature extinction of the "línea masculina" of the family (1). The lack of males leaves the family elder, Doña Solita, without funds, yet responsible for the maintenance of the family's palacio, its honor, and her nieces and grand-nieces.²²

The economic salvation of the women rests upon Soledad who is, at 30, the youngest grand-niece. Because she likes to read, her aunts conquer their customary aversion to higher education and accede to the counsel of Padre Mariano and the Cardinal: Soledad should attend school in order to obtain the title of "profesora de primera enseñanza

1910.

²² The family tree constructed by Burgos would not have been chronologically feasible.

superior." The clergymen will ensure that she finds employment and earns a much-needed income, thereby alleviating the family's dire financial situation. Soledad's foray into the public space, seen by her aunts as charged with danger, generates the enigma which drives the plot. Eventually, their worst fears are realized: the unmarried Soledad becomes pregnant. The outcome of that predicament will determine not only her future, but theirs.

Unlike El tesoro del castillo, this narrative maintains a unity which betrays neither the presence of imported elements nor interruptions in Burgos's writing process. The text is divided into five chapters which follow a chronology of a few months beginning with Soledad's unexpectedly late return from classes and ending with her resolution regarding the pregnancy. Chapter 3, unlike the others which move the action forward, is an interior monologue in which Soledad reflects on the circumstances which have led to her plight.

The lens through which the reader perceives the story is provided by an omniscient narrator who, as the plot develops, seems to assume a female identity through apparent sympathy for Soledad's position. There is little dialogue among the characters; instead, the reader's understanding of the plot is structured by the narrator's perspective. The novella is not constructed around physical description of the women who people the text; rather, the narrator's view focuses on the locations in which the story takes place.

The reader's knowledge of the aunts' appearance, for example, is merely that they have "caballera cenizosa" crowning their faces of "una grasienda y sedosa tersura." Even the narrator's external depiction of the protagonist, Soledad, is limited to a perfunctory sketch. Perhaps with the exception of her lips, she is represented as typical of women in that part of Spain:

Era una mujer de estatura regular, algo gruesa, de redondo rostro, naricilla un poco chata, labios frescos, rojos como una herida sangrienta, y ojos y cabellos del negro intenso propios en las mujeres toledanas. (7)

On the contrary, the narrator's characterizations of the spaces the women occupy are meticulously detailed. Burgos develops the settings to the extent that they assume the value of a character which has an impact on the human ones. As the portrayal of Toledo emerges from the text, the narrator's disapproving perspective on the city becomes as clear as "her" empathy for Soledad.

While Burgos did not have the close association with Toledo that she did with Rodalquilar, it is likely that her attitude toward it became known, at least to her newspaper audience. Castañeda reports that Burgos considered her 1907 assignment to a teaching post there to be "un abuso y un atropello" (29). The Heraldo, for which Burgos was writing at the time, denounced the move as not beneficial to her career. Moreover, Burgos criticized the omnipresence in Toledo of "la Iglesia Primada de España" in the article "La

ciudad de los Cristos": "Pues ni aun en Nápoles, marcado tan tristemente por las huellas del fanatismo español, existen tantos crucifijos, tantas santas, tantas hornacinas, altares y santuarios como en Toledo" (Al balcón 226).²³

Readers of El honor de la familia who were familiar with Burgos's attitude toward Toledo, observing her empathy with the female protagonist, might well have conflated the voice of the story's narrator with that the author.

Although the settings of both El tesoro and this novella are clearly identifiable locations, the sites play significantly different roles in each text. In El tesoro del castillo, Rodalquilar forms a picturesque backdrop against which both the inserted legends and Dolores's story unfold. In the terms of Showalter's quilt metaphor, it might be posited as the colorful backing fabric to which the patches are stitched, lending another decorative element to the finished product. In contrast, the dimly lit and decrepit palacio and corresponding greyness of the fortress-like city of Toledo tower over the characters of El honor de la familia. The spaces in which the plot unfolds could be

²³ Burgos's descriptions of the palacio in the text should be compared to similar images in "La ciudad de los Cristos": "mientras todas esas sombras negras agrupadas en torno de tu cadáver, habitan en palacios, deslumbran a un pueblo ignorante y hambriento con sus brocados, y guardan joyas preciosas entre los tesoros de soberbias catedrales que alzaron en tu nombre" (227-28).

Similarly, Burgos writes in both the article and the novella about the *Virgen de los Alfileritos* and the custom of leaving offerings to *Santo Cristo de las Coberteras*.

visualized as a series of darkly-colored concentric circles, with the largest a distant view of the city, the next the public zone of Toledo, then the religious zone of the city, individual rooms in the palacio and, finally, Soledad's womb.

Soledad's aunts, who observe codes of behavior for women similar to those mandated by Fray Luis de León in the sixteenth century, attempt to close off the interior of the palacio from intrusion by modern life, thus creating one of the circles. Its boundary is clearly marked by a "portalón de madera" bearing a "pesado aldabón de hierro que pendía del escudo nobiliario" in its center (6). Their exterior zone of movement does include such religious destinations as the Cathedral, but they consider secular ones like the market to be beyond the territory in which it is appropriate for them to function.

As a child, Soledad, too, was permitted access only to the religious sphere of the city where, in the cathedral, "[d]e rodillas, inmóvil y muda horas y horas" she studied a book of devotions (9). Occasionally she left the church for a nearby cloister with its internal "jardín escaso, mal cuidado" which nourished her daydreams (9). Sometimes, with her tías, she visited "La Huerta del Cardenal," supposedly a safe zone for girls' innocent play. Nevertheless, the narrator, recounting Soledad's memories in Chapter 3,

troubles the religious sphere with a suggestion of ulterior motives among the clergy:²⁴

Su eminencia, de carácter muy divertido, llevaba consigo una corte de canónigos y pajes y un acompañamiento de lindas devotas y de mamás complacientes. ... Algún día, como por un atavismo de sátrapa o emperador, mandaba soltar un novillo en la plazuela o un puñado de lagartos, cuando mayor era la diversión. ¡Era de ver cómo corrían entonces!... Algunos tardaban horas en parecer. (10)

When it was decided that Soledad would attend school, it became necessary for her to enter a domain which included the secular areas of the city. That activity was theoretically monitored by Soledad's school friends, whose mothers assured her guardian--mistakenly--that they did not have *novios*; thus, they would not have enjoyed the freedom of movement available to women with male companions, but rather would be restricted to a prescribed route to and from the school. Nevertheless, when Soledad meets the young artist who eventually makes her pregnant, they leave the school every afternoon to meander through the city. Their circular route takes them beyond the narrow streets to a place where they can overlook Toledo, but even from a distance the city maintains its oppressive military and religious appearance:

Siempre terminaba el paseo de la vega, a la hora del crepúsculo, bajo aquel cielo grisáceo.... La

²⁴ Burgos's revelations about the behavior of the clergy in this text become less shocking when considered in the anticlerical context of such contemporaneous works as Ramón Pérez de Ayala's A.M.D.G. (1910).

ciudad parecía a lo lejos una gran fortaleza en la que resonaban de modo anacrónico la melancolía de los toques de campana en la multitud de torres de sus iglesias. (12)

Later, when Soledad's pregnancy is discovered, her sphere again shrinks as she voluntarily retreats to her room in the family palacio and there turns her thoughts inward to her unborn child.

The novella begins with the narrator's description of the *salón* of the "vetusto palacio toledano" where Soledad lives with her aunts (1-2). The details of the room, including the atmosphere created by the lighting, are rendered in such a manner that the text could serve as the basis for the construction of a realistic stage-set. The room is characterized by a cold and oppressive atmosphere of decayed elegance and religiosity:

La luz que se escapaba bajo la gran pantalla verde del quinqué de petróleo, esclarecía apenas un ángulo de la estancia. El artesonado techo, encaladas y altas paredes macizas, mal encubierto el desquebrajado piso de ladrillos con la estera de pleita blanca, tenía un aspecto de fría soledad.... Dos candelabros, con las bujías sin encender, ocupaban los ángulos salientes de la mesa; y delante del Niño, ... ardía la mariposa, lanzando reflejos inciertos y mortecinos, que iban a quebrarse en las ricas y bordadas vestiduras del pequeño Jesús. (1)

The human protagonists are briefly introduced only after the room is described, but even then they are presented as attributes of the scenery. Their individual identity is eclipsed by the sense of place: "El grupo de mujeres sentadas junto a la mesa, parecía perdido entre la sombra de

los grandes pliegues de cortinones pesados y polvorientos" (1).

The living protagonists are overshadowed, as well, by the images of religious figures and highly-respected family ancestors which adorn the walls of the salón. The latter represent men who embody the presumably esteemed legacy of *Armas y Letras* and women who were, apparently, paragons of decorum:²⁵

Caballeros con uniforme, hábitos santiagueses o antiguos vestidos de gran señor.... y severas damas, con los cabellos ceñidos, honesto el descote, negro el traje y caída la mano que, saliendo de entre encajes blancos, sostenía el pañuelo o el abanico. (1)

The narrator's reference to the women's *pañuelo* recalls that of the protagonist of El tesoro del castillo. In that novella, however, the larger *pañuelo* de Manila clings to Dolores's shapely form and black is associated with her shiny hair. Dolores and Rodalquilar evoke the picturesque and folkloric elements of traditional Spanish tales while the Girón women are modern manifestations of the women pictured on the walls:

Imágenes escapadas de aquellos lienzos parecían las damas silenciosas cerca de la mesa camilla con tapete verde, sobre la que lucía el quinqué alumbrando cestillos de labor y algunos devocionarios encuadrados en tafilete negro. Eran cuatro mujeres, todas vestidas lo mismo, con

²⁵ Two of the female ancestors are described as virtuous in spite of their "illegitimate" pregnancies which were, unlike Soledad's, favored because the men involved were members of the royal family.

cuerpos ceñidos y vueludas faldas de merino negro.
(1)

It is not merely the palacio of the Girónes which represents Spanish antiquity; all of Toledo is permeated by the power of institutionalized tradition. Just as the silhouette of the Cathedral looms over the city, the influence of the Church permeates the lives of the protagonists. Tía Solita had been educated by an aunt in the convent who had prohibited her "todo estudio y toda lectura que no fuese la de devocionarios y libros piadosos" (2). She replicated these customs in the next generation, raising her nieces under the same paradigm. The women have colluded in maintaining a seamless connection between the past and the present. As a result of reproducing the patriarchal system which oppressed them, they are ill prepared for the duties which have fallen to them.

Even as a child, Soledad did not adapt comfortably either to the palacio or to the sanctioned exterior religious spaces as did her aunts. She remembers that she cried frequently "de un modo incomprensible para todos los demás" (9). The hours spent in the Cathedral, instead of yielding the expected results, caused her to develop "un misticisimo que la hacia adorar la Natura y la Belleza, confundiéndolas con el Dios que invocaban los otros..." (9). When reading the sanctioned "libro de devociones," Soledad's reaction was more poetic than religious:

[L]as palabras armoniosas de la oración se rimaban, materializándose como si se convirtieran las líneas del devocionarios en guirnaldas de lirios morados, pensamientos negros, claveles de púrpura y rosas de sangre... y entre ellos muchos nardos, jazmines y azucenas. Muchos nardos. (9)

Her pregnancy only intensifies her friction with the model Toledo imposes upon her, driving her to forsake not only the city streets, but the common rooms of the palacio as well. The domestic space, historically deemed the most nurturing location for a pregnant woman, does not offer comfort to Soledad.

In The Gender of Modernity, Rita Felski discusses attitudes toward the maternal which coincide with Burgos's era. Between 1890 and 1911, the year of the publication of El honor de la familia, the sociologist Georg Simmel wrote a series of essays on female culture and psychology and the relationship between the sexes (36). Burgos eventually had some knowledge of his writing because she refers to him in several texts, for example, La mujer moderna y sus derechos, but it is impossible to say at what point and to what extent she became familiar with his ideas. Felski explains that "the only cultural sphere which Simmel considers to exemplify the female mode of being is that of the household" (48). He wrote, "'In its state of serene, self-contained completeness ... it assumes that real and symbolic relationship to the nature of the woman by which it could become her great cultural achievement'" (qtd. in Felski 48-49). The home, he suggests, is marked by the special

interests and abilities and distinctive rhythms of female being; it is unified, concrete, and complete within itself" (48-49). In El honor de la familia, however, the palacio represents those negative aspects of Spanish culture which conspire against Soledad. It manifests both the trappings of a lineage whose economic needs have superseded compassion and the effects of the intromission of the Church hierarchy into the private sphere.

In a self-imposed confinement, Soledad retreats to her room, refusing to emerge even to share meals with the family. The solitude and her pregnancy inspire an examination of her emotions in which, "[s]u imaginación le presentaba, como un cinematógrafo, todas las escenas de su vida pasada" (9).²⁶ Isolated from the locations which reiterate institutionalized Spanish secular and religious traditions, Soledad finds an environment favorable to the exploration of her emotions. In "a room of her own," her imagination is freed to interpret her situation in a way that imitates a modern artistic form; visualizing her life as a film, she initiates a self-analysis along the lines of modern psychiatry (Woolf 4).

²⁶ The first practical motion picture camera was made in France in 1887 by E. J. Marey. In 1889, Thomas Edison invented the first commercially successful camera. Cinematography was not accessible to amateurs until 1923 as a result of film and cameras developed by Eastman Kodak and Bell and Howell, respectively.

Soledad's maternity forces the question of whether she will be able to free herself from archaic cultural constructs in order to determine the boundaries of her body and the survival of her progeny. Although Burgos does not expressly link the development of Soledad's creative imagination with the pregnancy, it is clear that the presence of the unborn child precipitates an examination of conscience through which she convinces herself to assume the authority for her future.

The father of the child will not contribute to its support. Neither will Soledad be able to earn the wages which would alleviate her family's economic distress. As a result, Padre Mariano and the Cardinal propose a solution to which her aunts acquiesce: Soledad will take an abortive powder provided by the priest and enter the convent. The clergy will be willing to overlook her lack of the required dowry provided that she be sexually available to them. Padre Mariano tells her that "es preciso que no sólo seas buena con él [the Cardinal], ya me entiendes (aquí un cariñoso apretón en las manos). Yo haré que la felicidad vuelva a sonreírte. ¡Eres tan digna de amor!" (16).

The proposed solution to Soledad's plight is fraught with irony. The aunts, seemingly unaware of the sexual implications for Soledad, believe that the termination of her pregnancy and admission to the convent will protect "el honor de la familia." Nevertheless, Soledad's child

represents their only potential biological heir. Thus, in addition to consenting to a mortal sin, they are actually promoting the demise of the family whose honor they seek to protect. They are, instead, defending their more immediate economic interests by dodging the need to support Soledad and the child. Their intent seems more compatible with patriarchal goals than with maternal ones.²⁷

The Church forces, which should provide Soledad's moral compass, instead advocate sin and sexual promiscuity. By accepting a solution she finds intolerable, Soledad would surrender control to them, not only of the child she would (not) produce, but of her body, and her ability to make decisions as well. In order to resist such cultural pressure and to imagine a different future wherein she can determine the course of her body and her production, she turns inward.

In "Creativity and the Childbirth Metaphor," Susan Friedman addresses the charged nature of the maternal body in literature. She points out that "[t]he childbirth metaphor has always been 'pregnant' with resonance because

²⁷ Bartky writes, "[I]f we add to the Marxist notion of 'modes of production' the idea of 'modes of (biological) reproduction,' then it is evident that the development of cheap and efficient types of contraception has been instrumental in changing both the concrete choices women are able to make and the prevailing conceptions about woman's function and destiny" (13). In Soledad's case, such a choice would have facilitated her exploitation by her aunts as a wage-earner at the expense of the continuation of their supposedly illustrious family.

childbirth itself is not neutral in literary discourse" (372). Although "artistic creativity and human procreativity" have long been associated, language and religion have historically inscribed a dualism in which maternity and women's creative work are assumed to be mutually exclusive.

Thus, the image of the unmarried pregnant woman, when located at the center of an early twentieth-century text, as is Soledad in El honor de la familia, is particularly loaded. It carries with it not only the traditional contexts which have accrued to maternity and creativity, but the contemporaneous debate in which women's nondomestic work was represented not only as undermining their maternity, but also as beyond their "natural" abilities. At stake in the polemic is the determination of the nature of women's "labor" and (re)production: would women be permitted to envisage new ways to contribute to society or would they be subsumed by the dominant ideology? Soledad's pregnant body becomes a site where conflicts of mind/body and creativity/procreativity converge (372).

Friedman's thesis is that although a reader's sex and historically acquired perspectives on childbirth doubtless influence his or her interpretation of a text, more significant is the "alteration of meaning that results from the reader's awareness of the sex of the metaphor's author" (375). She points out that "[w]e seldom read any text

without knowledge of the author's sex. The title page itself initiates a series of expectations that influence our reading throughout, expectations intensified by the overdetermined childbirth metaphor" (375). These observations are germane to Burgos's writing for the novella genre. The novellas featured caricatures or photographs of the author on the cover which inspired a particular public consciousness of the identity, including, of course the gender, of the author. Furthermore, Zamacois wrote in Un hombre que se va that the competition for sales between El cuento semanal and Los Contemporáneos hinged on the "jerarquía literaria del autor," thus indicating that authorial reputation was an important consideration in attracting an audience (253).

Burgos's contemporary readers must have been conscious of the conflicted position between women writing and their culturally ordained domestic and maternal function (373). Friedman explains that "the reader's awareness that the metaphor features a woman [author] changes how the biological and historical resonances work" (377). When, in addition to her gender, details of the author's personal life were well-known and controversial, it is very likely that readers' preconceptions affected their interpretation of the metaphor. Such components of Burgos's life as the termination of her marriage and subsequent cohabitation with Ramón Gómez de la Serna could well have been considered

illustrative of the lack of compatibility between the maternal and intellectual position. Moreover, the application of such epithets to Burgos as *La divorciadora* insinuates that she was seen as a threat to the domestic status quo. Yet, she was both a mother and an author, demonstrating her ability to defy the traditional separation between creation and procreation. Some of Burgos's readers, both male and female, would likely have approached her texts armed with these constructs.

The reader familiar with Burgos's experiences can see parallels between her creative struggle and that of Soledad. Though not a writer, Soledad is a reader, a person whose fondness for the written word is noticed and criticized. When she tries to use that ability to earn a living, her venture into public spaces exposes her to situations for which her culture had not prepared her. The women who surround her offer no solace; rather, the pregnancy forces her to turn inward--to her room and to her womb--to generate the strength which enables her to interpret her past and design her future. Yet, Soledad is the only audience for her own words; she does not even share her film-like vision of her past life with her sister Herminia.

Later, with Herminia's assistance, the two women will set a course whereby Soledad will maintain control of her maternal body. Without confiding in the aunts, but as tía Solita had often done, Herminia "borrows" from the funds

they allotted for charity, as tía Solita had often done, in order to temporarily sustain Soledad, saying:

"Nuestro niño debe vivir."

Por un milagro de su sentimiento, la pobre mujer tomaba una parte en la maternidad de su hermana. ¡El hijo era de las dos! (19)

The women formulate their plan in isolation, silence, and with subterfuge. The following morning, Soledad sneaks away from the house to board a train for Madrid. Her sister whispers quietly to her and, as Soledad leaves, "[l]a puerta se cerró sin ruido, a sus espaldas" (19). Their collaborative effort will remain a secret between them, at least for the time being.

Soledad will successfully resist the cultural coercion to surrender her body and her progeny. Neither Toledo, nor the family heritage, nor the Church, nor the child's father will figure in their future; instead, Soledad will travel to an environment which will sustain her independence. As she looks back at Toledo, the narrator expresses her consciousness of standing on the threshold between the antiquated and the modern:

A su izquierda, las ruinas del castillo de San Servando aparecían coronadas por una gigantesca cruz de hierro, ... puesta en medio del campo para conmemorar la entrada del nuevo siglo, y que parecía cerrar, como la losa de una tumba, la vida de la histórica ciudad. Le pareció que aquella cruz sellaba su corazón como un epitafio. Una existencia que desaparece es algo que muere en nuestras almas, es la muerte de nosotros mismos....

Rozándola casi, pasó rápido, a toda marcha, un automóvil, que dejó grabada en la retina de sus ojos una imagen temblorosa de amor, de dicha, sin

saber por qué la vida se imponía tiránica como una necesidad imperiosa.

Se oyó a su lado el cascabeleo del coche de la estación....

"Señorita Soledad, suba usted al coche. ¿Va usted a Madrid también? (19)

She will, apparently, board the train for a location which should be more favorable to the realizations of her plan. Yet, will Soledad's progeny signal her creative participation in modernity or simply her reproduction of existing patriarchal structures? Felski's theory of the significance of the maternal body in turn-of-the-century literature is that:

nurturing and motherhood constitute neither an autonomous enclave of intimacy untouched by changing discourses and ideologies of the self nor the essence or endpoint of female identity. Indeed, a number of writers from Nancy Armstrong to Jacques Donzelot to Friedrich Kittler have shown how ideas of feminine affectivity and motherliness have themselves been powerfully implicated and mobilized in the development of modern regimes of power. In conceiving the feminine as a self-contained plenitude outside social and symbolic mediation, the nostalgia paradigm cannot begin to address the complex and multifaceted nature of women's involvement in and negotiations with different aspects of modern culture. (56)

While Soledad's maternity facilitates a process of autonomous self-realization which leads her to affirm the high value she places on the unborn child, it represents neither the essence of her identity, nor a state untouched by changing discourse as male turn-of-the-century theoreticians proposed. Rather, the pregnancy is the focal point of conflict between discourses of the old and new: it

manifests, as Felski writes, "the complex and multifaceted nature of women's involvement in and negotiations with different aspects of modern culture" (56). Soledad's movement away from Toledo, the site of institutionalized power, and toward the major city is a distinctly modernist move. Surrender of the child, rather than its birth, would have indicated the reproduction of historical values. Since Soledad's participation in modernity hinges on the maternal body, however, it is possible that her function is simply to serve as a conduit between the past and the future.

La flor de la playa

La flor de la playa was Burgos's thirty-fourth novella, published in the fifth year of La Novela Corta, 29 May 1920. As the eponymous work in the collection La Flor de la Playa y otras novelas cortas, edited and introduced by Concepción Núñez Rey, it is one of Burgos's few novellas readily available to the contemporary Spanish public.²⁰ Thus, I will provide only that précis of the plot which is crucial to the discussion.

In the text, the narrator relates that the principal characters, Elisa and Enrique, had met and become novios three years earlier as they were leaving their places of employment in Madrid. She was working for a *modista* and he in the office of the *Ministerio de Gracia y Justicia*.

²⁰ The text is in the series "Biblioteca de escritoras" published by Castalia and the Instituto de la Mujer in 1989. I cite from that edition.

Elisa, an orphan, lived with another modista, her friend Remedios. Since it would have been inappropriate for Enrique to visit their residence, it was difficult for the couple to be alone together. Yet a marriage, complete with the bridal linens Elisa thought necessary "para que luego el marido no tenga que echarle nada en cara," was not a financial possibility for them (312).

Enrique's salary was only equivalent to Elisa's modest one, but "por una de esas combinaciones semejantes a los juegos de azar le habían triplicado el sueldo" (312). The raise was not paid immediately, so, as the anticipated quantity mounted, the couple decided it would be sufficient for them to take a summer trip to a place where they could be "juntos, solos, olvidados del mundo" (313). They chose Portugal, because, although not too far, it signified "salir al extranjero... ir a una nación más libre, donde se verían a cubierto de la fisgonería de las patronas españolas" (313). During the vacation, Elisa would pose as Enrique's wife, "y a la vuelta... ¿quién sabe?" (313)

The text begins *in medias res* with the couple in a train, in the tunnel shortly before arriving in Lisbon. The omniscient narrator recapitulates the circumstances which have brought them to that point, recounting the preparations for the voyage until arriving again at their entry into Lisbon. The narration continues in the past tense(s) creating the impression that the narrator is reminiscing

about the experience from some undetermined point after the events. Burgos's consistent use of the imperfect tense throughout the text contributes to the impression of the narrator's distant recollection. It serves, as well, to entice the reader from one chapter on to the next, expecting a climactic incident which will shift the chronicle into the preterite.

Such an episode never occurs. Rather, the narrator continues to relate the most trivial details of Elisa's and Enrique's surroundings in Portugal. S/he describes the scenery of Lisbon, the village of *Los Manzanos* where they eventually find lodging, the inconveniences of the room, and the particulars of the *paseo* routes they follow.²⁹

When Burgos devotes a short chapter to Elisa and Enrique's apparently inconsequential encounter with a ragamuffin child while taking a walk, one is led to wonder what significance it might eventually have for the story. In terms of the plot, however, the chapter proves to be extraneous: as the text proceeds, it becomes more apparent that the enigma suggested in the first chapter, "y a la vuelta... ¿quién sabe?" is primary (313). Yet, never does it pose a dilemma sufficient to drive either of the protagonists to a dramatic moment of decision. Instead,

²⁹ Núñez Rey explains that in Portuguese the beach is called *Praia das Maças* which translates into *Playa de las Manzanas* in Spanish. Burgos, however, sometimes used the masculine form in the original text and Núñez Rey's edition respects that variety.

tedium gradually leads the novios to the apparently mutual, but entirely unspoken, thought that the end of the vacation will also conclude their relationship. The narrative, prolonged by the detail and inclusion of apparently superfluous description, replicates in the reader the "anemia" of Elisa and Enrique's domestic experiment (353).

Burgos was a far more practiced writer of fiction when she authored La Flor de la Playa than when she had undertaken her first novella for El Cuento Semanal. Thus, it is less defensible to attribute the episodic character of the text to an inability to conceptualize a sustained narrative unit as theorized by Showalter. Furthermore, intervening novellas such as El honor de la familia demonstrate Burgos's ability to develop a plot appropriate to the prescribed length of the genre in which all of the elements unite to form a coherent narrative structure. There are, nevertheless, several possible explanations for the construction of the text.

Núñez Rey points out that Burgos's descriptions of Portugal in La flor de la playa were no doubt based on her first trip to that country in 1915 with Ramón Gómez de la Serna. The text affirms that hypothesis with references to the economic effects of "la gran guerra" (331) and "la bronconeumonía epidémica" which had afflicted the owners of the restaurant the previous winter (326). If, as the publication date indicates, Burgos wrote the novella several

years later, the text may parallel the disjointed nature of her memories.

It is likely, furthermore, that the construction was a response to the pressures upon Burgos to maintain her prolific rate of production. As Mainer indicated, the novella genre was a reliable source of income for authors and La novela corta had an established record of success. Thus, Burgos, whose bibliography of travel literature reveals her interest in that genre, may have linked together some previously written travel sketches with new plot elements in order to flesh out a story.³⁰

As this dissertation has shown, it was not unusual for Burgos to incorporate the texts of others into her work. It is very likely, then, that she would have stitched in her own materials as well. Whereas the use of a narrator/protagonist in El tesoro del castillo sets apart the interpolated tales, drawing attention to their old-fashioned and unrealistic quality, the insertion of possibly imported material is seamless in La Flor de la Playa. By attenuating the tempo of the text in a way that mimes that of the relationship, Burgos's use of seemingly extraneous material diverts the reader from the plot and toward the process of writing.

³⁰ Burgos had written Por Europa (1906); Cartas sin destinatario (1913?); and Perigrinaciones which included an epilogue by Ramón Gómez de la Serna (1916). The latter was republished as Mis viajes por Europa the following year.

In the Introduction to La Flor de la Playa, Núñez Rey writes that it is one of Burgos's most autobiographical novellas. The romance plot, nevertheless, does not parallel that of Burgos and Gómez de la Serna who, unlike Elisa and Enrique, built a house in that part of Portugal and continued their relationship for fourteen years thereafter (Flor 34-35). Núñez Rey insists upon the happiness of that relationship, writing that Burgos and Gómez de la Serna experienced "largos años de convivencia feliz" (Flor 25). Perhaps, as a result, she reads their romance into the text, pointing out that Elisa and Enrique

comparten como compañeros la visión del mundo, la independencia de criterio; también, los ilimitados deseos de conocimiento, de aventura, que se resumen en la excursión por las aldeas 'siempre adelante, con un ansia de exploradores,' y en esa visión onírica en que La Flor de la Playa navega hasta un lugar desconocido. Esa pareja inventa un nuevo modelo de relación. (Flor 68)

Elisa may be a modern protagonist to the extent that she is a working woman whose earning power is equal to Enrique's until "un aumento que por una de esas combinaciones semejantes a los juegos de azar la habían triplicado el sueldo" (312). Nevertheless, her shared adventure with Enrique is driven more by her desire to imitate conventionality and convert their relationship into a traditional one than by her wish to invent a new model. It is more likely Elisa's frustrated attempt to fuse personal fulfillment into their relationship that marks her as modern. Her undertaking is to resolve a conventional,

albeit simulated, male/female relationship with her freedom to desire and be desirable. As I will discuss, Elisa's yearning to explore may well stem from malaise rather than from the *compañerismo* to which Núñez Rey refers and which Burgos delineated in Ser amada.

There is no doubt, however, of Burgos's familiarity with the location; she uses that knowledge to develop a strong sense of place in the text, as she does with Rodalquilar and Toledo in the first two works discussed. It seems likely that establishing an atmosphere of authenticity by situating her novellas in areas she had come to know fostered her sense of writing authority.

In the three Burgos novellas under discussion, however, the setting is more than merely a scenic backdrop. In these novellas, the relationship between the protagonist and the space she occupies is linked to the conflict at the core of the plot. Dolores in El tesoro del castillo resists domestic confinement and follows a path determined by Juanillo through the rugged landscape to a ruined castle, hoping to find the solution to her dilemma. Soledad in El honor de la familia, in order to find her most propitious environment, first isolates herself more deeply within her home, then leaves it and her city on a train for Madrid. Elisa takes a train away from Madrid, searching for a place in which she and Enrique can find a level of comfort and freedom from Spanish cultural pressures. The three

protagonists play out a tension between women's culturally mandated domestic role and the search for freedom to create their futures. The tension generated in that exploration for a "carretera sin obstáculos" is realized in a friction with their environments. To the extent that Burgos was aware of her conflicted role in the culture and, as a result, endeavored to fashion a propitious space in which to construct her life-text, then, all of the female protagonists discussed in this dissertation are autobiographical. It is more the shared characteristic of motion, of exploring new possibilities that marks the three protagonists as modern than the nature of the relationship they eventually do or do not establish.

Although other Burgos novellas such as "Villa-María"³¹ and La pensión ideal³² focus on the debilitating effects of domestic chores on the protagonists, the three protagonists of the novellas examined in this chapter are, within the limits of the texts, exempted from those tasks by unusual circumstances. Elisa is a working class woman who, because she is on vacation in a hotel, is detached from the typical household environment where she would be responsible for its management. Her removal to a hotel creates an environment which echoes the domestic sphere, yet eliminates her responsibility for it, thus focusing attention on the

³¹ La Novela Corta, 4 March 1916.

³² La Novela Corta, 13 January 1923.

confines of the marital bond. In Spain, she and Enrique must hide from critical eyes in order to be together; neither can enter the space of the other without cultural censure. As a result, they choose to travel to a new environment where they will need to accommodate to each other in order to construct, for the first time, a shared space. Elisa expects that the political freedom associated with Portugal will be associated with a cultural freedom which will nourish her unmarried relationship so that it grows into a married one. Yet, ironically, her assumption of the wifely role and the mundane objects associated with it quickly lead to her consciousness of a loss of freedom.

As an unmarried modista in Madrid, Elisa indulged herself in "los zapatos, descotados y de tacón muy alto, con las medias finas y la cabellera bien peinada para salir a pelo o con un velillo puesto de careta, flotando sobre la espalda de un modo tentador" (312). In Portugal, however, both her high-heeled shoes and veil become problematic. When she and Enrique were preparing to leave their hotel in Lisbon for the first time, "[é]l hizo un gesto al velo. Nada de velo aquí. Era preciso comprar un sombrero... Ya no estaban en Madrid, donde se hubiera criticado su cambio de indumentaria... Además, siendo su esposa habría de llevarlo" (316). Elisa finds, however, that the process of fitting into a hat is more difficult than one might expect:

Acostumbrada a no verse con sombrero, con ninguno se encontraba bien. La cabeza, no adaptada a esa

moda, parecía repelerlos; estaba como si se lo hubiesen arrojado desde lejos y le quedara mal colocado. Al fin, encontraron uno que merced a sus alas encubridoras le sentaba mejor y lo compraron... Hacían falta los alfileres... y un velito... Su rostro fino, delicado, picaresco, estaba delicioso. ¿Pero qué trabajo le costaba estar así!... El velo la mareaba, el sombrero le impedía los movimientos. Tomaba un peso extraordinario sobre su cabeza... Y luego todos aquellos detalles que Enrique había querido comprar... Estaba echa [sic] una señora, y cuando pasaba por delante de un escaparate con espejo no se reconocía.

Se sentía satisfecha, encantada y al mismo tiempo molesta, cansada de llevar todo aquello, ella que tenía costumbre de caminar tan libre y tan desembarazada. (317)

The veil Elisa wore in Madrid signified her forays, as a desiring and desirable single woman, into the public areas of the city. Enrique insisted that, in her role as wife, she replace it with a hat which would mark her as less "tempting." The hat, then, signifies the friction she experiences with taking on a restrictive spousal role. Felski's discussion of the function of fashion during the period in which Burgos wrote elucidates the symbolically charged nature of clothing and particularly of hats:

Various writers have commented on the distinctively elegant styles of self-presentation adopted by militant suffragettes even as en masse they smashed shop windows with hammers in Bond Street or resisted police arrest. Their feminine dress, large hats, and fashionable appearance deliberately avoided all suggestion of the masculine, seeking rather to conform to the middle-class stereotype of the womanly woman. Here the modern woman as feminist encountered the modern woman as consumer, as many photographs of the period showed, a suffragette could be both revolutionary and feminine. (168-69)

Elisa's employment in fashion, as well as her interest in purchasing high-heeled shoes and fine stockings, confirms that she was averse neither to femininity nor to consumerism. As a single working woman, she had been able to choose and buy, albeit on a limited scale, her own clothing. Felski explains that

the category of consumption situated femininity at the heart of the modern in a way that the discourses of production and rationalization ... did not. Thus consumption cut across the private/public distinction that was frequently evoked to assign women to a premodern sphere" (61).

Enrique's purchase, then, not only spuriously labeled Elisa as his "wife," but it also robbed her of her power as a consumer. It signaled, as well, a premodern restriction to the private sphere. Felski cites Martin Pumphrey on the topic:

'[a]ny adequate reading of the modern period ... must take account of the fact that the debates over women's public freedom, over fashion and femininity, cosmetics and home cleaning were as essential to the fabrication of modernity as cubism, Dada or futurism, as symbolism, fragmented form or the stream-of-consciousness narrative' (qtd. in Felski 28).

Neither are the shoes Elisa enjoyed in Madrid appropriate for exploring the Portuguese coast: "Elisa resbalaba a veces con su tacón Luis XV, y tenía que sujetarse en el bastón, con miedo de apoyarse en aquellas piedras ásperas, puntiagudas y pinchosas, que le herían al tocarlas" (345). The narrator explains that "casi se arrepentían de estar allí en lugar de estar en Madrid, que, en su calidad de

población asentada sólidamente en el centro de la Península, era inconvencible y nada tenía que temer" (344). It is as if the couple were conscious of the uncertainty inherent in shedding old paradigms and longed to return to the stability of their former roles.

Nor does Elisa find it easy to adapt to the beach hotel which was the destination of the "idilio tan laboriosamente preparado" (320). Because the couple had not chosen a lodging before the trip, they were forced to accept the only space available in a restaurant "cerca de la playa, encima mismo de las rocas, con el cimiento en el mar.... un verdadero camarote de barco viejo" (320). The view of the "mar y cielo, un bello mar de oleaje y de espumas lucientes y saltadoras" in one direction, and the "sierra de Cintra" in the other may have been picturesque, but the narrator certainly does not represent the room as ideal. Instead, it is characterized as a confining location: "La habitación era irregular; un trapezoide muy alargado, que tendría unos cinco metros de anchura en la fachada principal y apenas un metro en el otro extremo" (320); "apenas se podían revolver" (321). Elisa's comments about the inconveniences of their "cuartito," the difficulties of the toilette, and the "plaga de ratones y hormigas" hint that her anxiousness to explore the surrounding area may not be motivated by her bond with Enrique, but rather by her dissatisfaction (322-23).

The description of the "marriage" bed supports that notion. Since the trip was driven by Elisa and Enrique's desire to be alone together, it is reasonable to expect that their bed would be depicted in a positive way, yet it is one of the least enticing elements in their shared space. Although the narrator's tone is tolerant of the inconveniences of the room, Elisa's difficulties with the bed provide a hint of the problems to come:

Elisa era la primera en saltar de la cama, quejándose de su dureza. Era una dureza superior a la dureza proverbial de las camas portuguesas. Habían aprovechado la cabecera y los pies de caoba de una cama vieja y le habían clavado unos palos y unas tablas, sobre las que colocaban el colchón escasamente lleno de crin vegetal. Era peor que dormir en el suelo. Todas las noches había que hacer el arreglo de meter ropa bajo la almohada, colocar para descansar el busto los almohadones de miraguano que trajeron en el tren, y remeter bajo los pies la recia colcha de crochet, con volantes de tela blanca, para no resbalar. (321-22)

As Elisa tries to "organizar su vida dentro de aquel cuartito, algo abuhardillado con techo y suelo de tablas," it may surprise the reader to learn that she has requested additional furniture: "una mesa de pino puesta a instancias suyas para colocar sus libros y su tintero" (321). The narrator explains that "la correspondencia ... era una cosa casi sagrada. El día que tenían correspondencia era un día que estaba lleno, optimista; no quedaba en él ese hueco de un deseo que no sabían como llenar" (333-34). The reference to the sacred quality of writing causes the writing table to assume an altar-like significance, replacing the bed as the

most portentous component of the room. One cannot help but wonder, given her anticipation of happiness with Enrique, why Elisa would suffer such emptiness that she would attempt fill it by communicating with others. The expression of her yearning for self-fulfillment seems a more likely driving force for her urge to conquer new spaces than her satisfaction with the relationship.

Although both Elisa and Enrique write post cards to their acquaintances every day, Remedios is Elisa's most habitual and important *destinataria*. She had been the recipient of Elisa's literary endeavors, albeit reading rather than writing, in Madrid prior to the trip; it was the image of that shared experience which attracted Elisa to *La Flor de la Playa*:³³

[E]staba aquel lugar tan impregnado del sabor clásico de la vida primitiva, que acabó por encontrarse a gusto, recordando todas las novelas románticas de pescadores que había leído en las largas noches de invierno madrileño, para entretener a Remedios, mientras cosía. (320)

The narrator explains that Elisa initially communicates to Remedios the apparently genuine enthusiasm generated by the new experience:

Las cartas de Elisa a Remedios estaban llenas de alegría, de felicidad le daba detalles de todo; de su camarotito, de sus comidas....

...
Estaba segura de que Remedios no había de envidiar su felicidad, sino alegrarse de ella, cuando supiera lo bueno y delicado que era

³³ Italics serve to differentiate the name of the inn from the title of the work.

Enrique, que no se apartaba un momento de su lado. El ensayo para no separarse jamás no podía resultarle mejor. (333)

Yet, as the narrator gradually insinuates that Elisa's anticipated idyll is less satisfying than she had hoped, we also learn that her correspondence to Remedios does not reflect the reality of the situation:

Seguían escribiendo a sus amigos, contando su felicidad, y Elisa escribía siempre a Remedios, detallándole cuadros de una envidiable vida idílica. Tal vez se engañaban a sí mismos todavía.

Se agarraban con ansiedad a cualquier detalle insignificante que viniera a poner nota nueva en el cuadro de su vida monótona. (349)

Elisa's aversion to communicate her disillusion with the domestic experiment is an increasing cause of concern to her; it creeps into the last third of the text as a secondary enigma which imperceptibly displaces the primary one. As it grows more probable that the couple will not stay together, the question of how Elisa will tell Remedios becomes at least as important as that of how she and Enrique will resolve their situation:

Ninguno de los dos quería dejar ver su impresión. Ya no se podían engañar a sí mismos como al principio; se confesaban sus sentimientos en su interior, pero no querían dejarlos traslucir, ni siquiera adelantar en un día su vuelta.... Tal vez también los obligaba a no abreviarla el compromiso que contrajeron, de modo inconsciente, con los amigos a quienes les notificaban su felicidad, sintiendo la de despertar su envidia.

Ya mentían a sabiendas. Elisa no quería de modo alguno variar el tono de sus cartas a Remedios. ¿Cómo le iba a decir después que todo aquello era mentira? (351)

Eventually, the primary enigma is partially resolved in the text. The narrator's knowledge of Elisa's frame of mind makes it apparent that a marriage will not occur, although the couple never addresses the dissolution of the relationship. The last four chapters recount the re-tracing of their route according to the original plan, from which they have not deviated.³⁴ They are again in the train in the tunnel, they again cross the border, and Elisa is again excited as she reaches her destination. As they repeat the cycle, everything is the same, yet different: the tunnel outside of Lisbon no longer frightens them as it did on their approach, and the border, which once represented a territory between the known and the unknown, now signifies a return to the familiar.

Ya se había desatado en la frontera aquel lazo que los había unido en Portugal. Era como si se hubiesen casado en él al llegar y se divorciaran al salir. Habían sido esposos y volvían a ser amantes; pero sólo en la apariencia, en el fondo ya no eran nada; se sentían ahora más claramente distanciados; después de la vida en común que se rompía sin pena, no quedaba entre ellos nada ya. (360)

This unspoken resolution of the marriage enigma is presented as a victory for Elisa. She comfortably re-enters the territory where she had previously felt restrained and

³⁴ The last chapter of the novella is XX, but my investigation revealed that Chapters XIII and XV are missing. Since there is no obvious lacuna in the text, it is possible that the original version in *La novela corta* was incorrectly numbered as well. Núñez Rey does not mention the numbering problem.

happily puts aside the hat which signifies the marriage she had once thought was her goal:

Por un movimiento instintivo se quitó también el sombrero, y lo colocó en la red. Sus cabellos revolotearon con el aire de la marcha del tren. Le pareció sentir la cabeza libre de un yugo pesado. Era como si se libertase de nuevo. (360)

The tension generated by the secondary enigma, however, is not mitigated, but rather exacerbated by the return to Madrid. While Elisa is untroubled, even liberated, by the end of the relationship with Enrique, she is tormented by the need to confess to Remedios that "sus cartas habían estado llenas de engaños" (361). How will she tell her most faithful destinataria that her domestic experiment miscarried and that what she had written about it was a fiction? That dilemma remains an unresolved threat to Elisa's return to Madrid and an unanswered question at the end of the text.

Núñez Rey points out that the ending "sin verdadero desenlace" is frequent in Burgos's narratives (Flor 50). Tania Modleski provides a theory of similar "endless" texts, albeit not written ones, in Loving With a Vengeance.³⁵ Discussing the "feminine" nature of soap operas, she asserts

³⁵ Susan Winnett suggests another possibility for the structure, or lack thereof, of texts authored by women. She posits the differences in rhythms between male and female sexual experiences which, in turn, relate to reading pleasure. Winnett points out that narrative is frequently structured by a male-driven concept of beginnings, middles, and ends whereas female-authored narrative is often accused of having a plot which "lapses on a trifle too liquidly" (516).

that they "provide a unique narrative pleasure which, while it has become thoroughly adapted to the rhythms of women's lives in the home, provides an alternative to the dominant 'pleasures of the text' analyzed by Roland Barthes and others" (87). It is interesting to note that Modleski correlates the allotment of women's time to their reception of a text, while Showalter parallels it to textual creation. Modleski explains that soap operas are "important to their viewers in part because they never end" (88). Comparing them to Harlequin Romances, Modleski writes:

[W]hereas Harlequins are structured around two basic enigmas, in soap operas, the enigmas proliferate.... Tune in tomorrow, not in order to find out the answers, but to see what further complications will defer the resolutions and introduce new questions. Thus the narrative, by placing ever more complex obstacles between desire and fulfillment, makes anticipation of an end an end in itself. Soap operas invest exquisite pleasure in the central condition of a woman's life: waiting--whether for her phone to ring, for the baby to take its nap, or for the family to be reunited shortly after the day's final soap opera has left its family still struggling against dissolution. (88)

Although, as I have written, the novella genre was not restricted to a female readership, it is likely that the women who had read Burgos's newspaper articles on "female" topics would have been curious about her fiction. Furthermore, the profusion of female protagonists in her novellas might well have lured a large female audience to them.

As we have seen, La Flor de la Playa is characterized by the presence of multiple enigmas as Modleski suggests are common to soap operas. As in that genre, their presence prolongs and complicates the text. The long descriptions of the areas the couple visit, details about the walks they took, and the chapter devoted to their encounter with the ragamuffin child serve to retard the progress of the plot. Furthermore, a final resolution of Elisa's possible confession to Remedios is deferred even beyond the limits of the text. Modleski explains that

[a]ccording to Roland Barthes, the hermeneutic code, which propounds the enigmas, functions by making 'expectation ... the basic condition for truth: truth, these narratives tell us, is what is at the end of expectation. This design implies a return to order, for expectation is a disorder.' But, of course, soap operas do not end. Consequently, truth for women is seen to lie not 'at the end of expectation,' but in expectation, not in the 'return to order,' but in (familial) disorder. (88)

Burgos was embroiled in the questioning of century-old concepts of women's roles in early twentieth-century Spain. It is very likely that the truth, for Burgos as well as for her readers, lay in the sense of expectation and familial disorder that no doubt resulted from that interrogation. The search toward creative and personal fulfillment, symbolized by the "carretera sin obstáculos," was ongoing.

Elisa moves through literary spaces analogous to tangible ones which Burgos had occupied. Her insistence on establishing a place dedicated to writing, albeit post

cards, seems somewhat implausible for a modista, but much more credible for Burgos. In the context of Burgos's writing history, Elisa's distress at having written fiction to mislead another woman about the domestic ideal takes on a deeper significance. Moreover, Burgos hints that Elisa's concern may extend to women other than Remedios, thus extending the parallel. As the train approaches Madrid, the only other woman in the car,

despierta y avispada, la miraba ... atentamente, como si se diera cuenta de algo anormal cuyo secreto deseaba penetrar. Elisa hizo un esfuerzo para no romper a llorar, y tomando el *Heraldo* empezó a leer a la débil luz del vagón. (361)

The reference to the Heraldo, for which Burgos wrote on women's topics, in the context of the concern that another woman would discern Elisa's secrets, cannot be overlooked.

As the train pulls into the station, Elisa hesitates, then decisively terminates the marriage charade, but reaffirms the ongoing nature of her hypocritical position vis à vis her trusting female correspondent:

Hubo un momento en que fue a ponerse el sombrero, con el alfiler entre los dientes, delante del espejito apaisado del vagón. Después, vio que Enrique no la miraba, clavó el alfiler en el sombrero y lo volvió a dejar en la red. ¿Para qué lo quería ya? Debía quedar allí como olvidado, sin que Remedios la viese con él puesto. Llevar aquella prenda había sido como una traición a su vida y a su profesión. (363)

As this dissertation discussed in Chapter 3, early in her career Burgos compared her writing to earning her living with a needle. In the Prologue to La cocina moderna, she

wrote that she, "trabajando como obrera, hace de la pluma aguja para ganar el sustento." In this later text, the narrator's description of Elisa's serious concern about her hat endows her modest work as a modista with greater gravity than might be expected. Her position, working in the taller of a maestra, is elevated from what is usually considered an *oficio* to a *profesión* and playing the role of *señora* becomes a "treason" to her profession and her life (313). It seems very likely that Burgos is voicing her own trepidation at her fictional representation of domesticity to the female audience.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation examines how Carmen de Burgos structured a writing career, creating her own paradigm as a prolific and self-supporting female author in a predominately male profession known for its inadequate remuneration. It scrutinizes some of the techniques Burgos utilized in order to avoid the appearance of "promiscuidad feminista," against which Ledesma Hernández had cautioned her in her first published work. Furthermore, it confirms that Burgos succeeded in forging a readership of such dimensions that, as she wrote in the "Autobiografía," "se me discute" (xii). Scrutinizing some of Burgos's paratextual comments on her authorship, as well as a representative instructional manual for women and three novellas addressed to a more general audience, the dissertation explores the extent to which Burgos both succumbed to and resisted the "turbulent currents" of public opinion.

Although Burgos's personal domestic situation defied the Spanish insistence on the intact, patriarchal family unit as the basis of the social structure, her prescriptive manuals for women appear, on the surface, to support the established domestic ideology. In contemporaneous speeches and articles, nonetheless, she steadfastly espoused many

feminist goals, focusing on alternatives to the conventional "ángel del hogar" stereotype for women. Furthermore, the utopian nuclear family she portrayed in the practical manuals is noticeably absent from most of the novellas she authored. As a result of these apparent contradictions, contemporary critics such as María Pilar Rodríguez have written that "tan pronto se declaraba entusiasta republicana y apasionada defensora de los derechos de la mujer como rebatía ardientemente los principios fundamentales de la independencia femenina, recomendando el matrimonio y la maternidad como la fórmula más deseable de desarrollo femenino" (382).

Rodríguez suggests that Burgos's authorship of the series of ¿Quiere V.....? texts, which she and Núñez Rey date in 1917, is incompatible with such socio-political treatises as El divorcio en España (1904), La mujer en España (1906), and La mujer moderna y sus derechos (1927). She attributes the ambivalent character of Burgos's works to her "rechazo a constituirse como identidad constante e inmovible" (382). This dissertation disputes the 1917 date which both Núñez Rey and Rodríguez accepted uncritically from the Biblioteca Nacional. Moreover, it brings to light new information on the practical manuals which helps to resolve the quandary, voiced by Rodríguez and others, as to Burgos's alleged inconsistencies.

I have shown that the ¿Quiere V....? books to which Rodríguez refers were not written in 1917 as bibliographical information led her to understand. Instead, they are re-editions by Sopena of books Burgos had written prior to 1913 for the Valencia publisher Sempere. Thus, these texts are an earlier part of Burgos's corpus than has generally been assumed and, if counted only once, they shrink to a smaller proportion in her written production.

We have seen that Burgos's instructional books for the female audience should be read in the context of paratextual statements she made on her authorship. In the "Carta Prólogo" to La cocina moderna [1906-1909], for example, Burgos accepts Sempere's assignment to write for his practical series, telling him of her surprise that he has guessed that her cooking ability exceeds that of her writing. Burgos's public support of divorce in 1904 could have been seen as endangering the domestic status quo. Yet her desire to establish a writing career, as well as her economic need, would likely have motivated her to convince Sempere of the appropriateness of his decision to choose her as an author. The Prologue to Sempere's 1924 re-edition of Burgos's cookbook, apparently amended by Burgos to read that she cooks as well as she writes, supports the interpretation that Burgos defended her domestic prowess in the earlier version in order to downplay her nonconventional life choices while affirming her ability to sustain domesticity

to middle-class readers. It is likely that later in her career, when she was more established as an author, she no longer found it necessary to assume such a humble posture vis à vis her writing ability.

Burgos emphasizes the remunerative aspect of her authorship of practical manuals in several textual locations. In the "Carta Prólogo," she metaphorically converts her pen to a needle, identifying it as the tool by which she earns a living. She expresses her awareness of economic necessity in the "Preliminar" to El arte de seducir (1916?), where she voices a frustrated sigh: "Un libro más de arreglos. Es la vida." In the "Preliminar," she writes, as well, of the difference between the duty of writing books which are "seguros y prácticos" and "la pasión de las novelas y del arte," expressing a consciousness of the greater artistic rewards but lesser monetary compensation of the latter.

She may well have responded to the pressure to produce marketable texts for the female audience by relying on a strategy which had proven beneficial to her in the past. This dissertation has shown that, in order to sustain a prolific and multi-faceted production, Burgos often fell back on a technique she had developed while filling in for her errant husband at the family newspaper in Almería: she had learned that by cutting and pasting she could produce articles which would earn critical acclaim. Her first work,

Ensayos literarios, is a compendium of fictional genres and an essay that Burgos had previously written. El arte de ser amada incorporates long citations from the work of other authors joined together by Burgos's narrative thread. The resulting composite discourse appears at first to be a conventional beauty manual. Embedded within it, however, is a feminist polemic aimed at upper middle class readers.

It is likely that, as a response to her constant economic urgency for rapid production of manuscripts, Burgos relied upon the skill of recycling and reusing which Elaine Showalter describes in "Piecing and Writing." Burgos's decision to "hide away" the feminist discourse of Ser amada in a compilation of more conventionally "female" advice should also be considered, however, in the context of Sempere's probable preconceptions about female interests. His decision to establish a *Biblioteca para la mujer* based on domestically-oriented instructional manuals may have been prompted by evidence that Spanish women had not demonstrated an interest in theoretical feminist readings.

Two of the three samples of Burgos's fictional writing examined in this dissertation reveal suggestions of a technique of narrative construction similar to that of Ser amada, indicating that Burgos relied consistently on the skill of piecing. The plot of El tesoro del castillo incorporates traditional legends with fantastic elements based on the Moorish past of southern Spain. They are

pieced into the narrative with the assistance of a character who also functions as a secondary narrator. The primary narrator, closely identified with the author, offers "her" critical opinion of his story-telling skill. Although "she" is somewhat disparaging of his technique, there is a resemblance between the character's style and that which Burgos later develops in her novellas.

The construction of La Flor de la Playa also suggests, albeit less conspicuously, that Burgos wove remnants of other previously produced fabrics into the narrative. The development of the plot is slowed by the inclusion of detailed descriptions of the settings. This documentary-like material is irrelevant to the primary enigma of whether Elisa and Enrique's time alone together will result in marriage. Instead, it shifts the reader's attention toward the secondary one: a discrepancy gradually emerges between the trivial nature of the protagonist's experiences as described in the text and her apparent idealization of them in her correspondence.

Burgos had spent time with her long-time companion, Ramón Gómez de la Serna, in the location where the text is situated. She often wrote reminiscences of her travels. Thus, it appears likely that Burgos used her previously written travel observances to augment the vignette of a plot. The incessant pressure to produce for La Novela Corta, a reliable source of income, may well have led her to

utilize the method she had learned in Almería and had continued in the practical manuals.

Burgos's inclusion of personal recollections of the area serves, as well, to imbue the text with an autobiographical significance, although this may not have been obvious to the general reader. The details of her relationship with Gómez de la Serna differ from that of the characters; nonetheless, the protagonist's ruminations about the veracity of what she has written to her female roommate in Madrid insinuate a quandary more credible for an author than for the "modistilla" protagonist. Elisa's insistence on her happiness at sharing a modest domestic space with Enrique is revealed as a fiction; its propagation to another woman distresses Elisa more than the failure of the marital experiment. The autobiographical connotations of the text suggest that, through it, Burgos is voicing her own authorial misgivings at misleading her female audience with fictional accounts of domestic idylls. Such trepidation, in the context of Burgos's paratextual comments cited in this dissertation, may be seen as an expression of her consciousness of her own circumscription by domestic ideology. The fact that Elisa's predicament is the result of deceptive letters she has written appends a subsequent irony to Burgos's "Carta Prólogo" to Sempere.

Showalter's article provides a possible explanation for Burgos's creative misgivings. She points out that

nineteenth-century women authors, whose experience had been in journalism, saw themselves as workers rather than artists. This hypothesis seems particularly applicable to Burgos who published as many as eight novellas per year, in addition to writing newspaper articles and other types of work. It is very likely that, given the constant economic and creative pressure under which she operated, she did not conceive of herself as an artist writing for sophisticated readers, but rather a craftsperson whose audience belonged to a different sphere.

In "The Madwoman and her Languages," Nina Baym points out that the advent of the "realizable ambition to become professional writers" had positive consequences for women (156). Burgos, who situated herself as a professional through her teaching and didactic nonfiction writing, was able to carve out a reading public that was probably largely female, but must have included some males as well. It included not only the women of the *clase media acomodada* which read the practical manuals, but also the expanding *pequeña burguesía* posited as readers of novellas by Ideología y texto.

The content of Burgos's instructional manuals for women, as well, should be considered in the context of the pragmatic expressions, voiced in the paratextual material, of both her economic situation and her desire to forge a writing career. It is possible that, under such

circumstances, Burgos could have chosen to avoid jeopardizing future assignments from Sempere by steadfastly supporting an entirely domestic function for women. The titles and covers of the practical manuals support that assumption, suggesting a content directed toward woman's search for a mate or the improvement of her useful household skills.

Nonethelesss, this dissertation shows in Chapter 4 that the titles are not necessarily an accurate reflection of the material within. Indeed, the cover of the Sopena edition of Ser amada is perhaps deliberately misleading, implying a romantic content. My analysis of the text demonstrates that the prescriptions Burgos offers for female loveability do include, but are certainly not restricted to, such stereotypical advice for attracting a male as beauty techniques. Burgos expands the interpretation of what women need to learn in order to make themselves desirable, addressing as well issues of far less obvious usefulness.

She maintains that in order to establish a marriage based on conversation and respect, women's education should be improved so that they can model equality and pacifism within the domestic sphere; children will then imitate the paradigm in the larger world. Female equality in the home is not merely important for women's private happiness, but is a necessary precondition of "verdadero amor." Unlike the private, romantic love which the cover and title imply,

however, Burgos explains that love is "el anhelo de nuestro espíritu irradiando sobre cuanto nos rodea. Amor que, basado en el espíritu, crece siempre con la bondad y la ternura y no desaparece como el amor de amante" (199). Specifically differentiating love from the male/female romantic love which Núñez Rey and Rodríguez suggest is her highest aspiration, Burgos describes it as the force which connects women to the world around them.

Thus, the private sphere is represented as a microcosm in which women can and should effect changes which will generate societal development. Indeed, progress is predicated on women's increased opportunity to participate in a more equal and intellectual, conversation-based marriage. In Ser amada, Burgos writes:

No es sólo nuestra felicidad particular y privativa la que ha de impulsarnos a conquistar el puesto que en la sociedad nos corresponde, sino el bien y el desarrollo de esa misma sociedad, la cual no podría marchar bien con la mitad de sus individuos amarrados en la dura cadena de la esclavitud. (209)

If the chains of slavery to which Burgos refers represent women's domestic status, she can certainly not be charged with seeing marriage and maternity as their foremost route to fulfillment as suggested by Rodríguez and Núñez Rey. While it is true that Burgos does not disavow women's maternal and domestic function, as Rodríguez seems to consider a necessary component of a defense of the rights of women, neither does she limit them to the traditional

interpretation; instead, she urges a redefinition of that role.

The function of the child in carrying out the new cultural model, however, makes it apparent that Burgos's vision for a public role for women is not revolutionary, but rather evolutionary.¹ Rita Felski writes, "As part of the prevailing intellectual currency of the time, evolutionary theories were regularly invoked to justify the necessity of women's place within the domestic sphere" (155). Supporters of such notions maintained that women must remain restricted to the domestic sphere in order to "conserve their energy for their vital role as mothers of the race" (155). They believed that "[f]or society as a whole to develop, women had to stay as they were" (155). Thus, feminists, who called into question "the natural destiny of women," were seen as a threat (155).

Pointing out that it is important to locate the use of evolutionary narratives by feminists in the context of that history, Felski explains that "enacting a negotiation with the prevailing intellectual vocabulary of the time, they sought to demonstrate not only the desirability but also the inevitability of women's emancipation" (155). Thus, "[f]eminists frequently resorted to eugenic theories to

¹ This is born out by Burgos's reluctance to participate in the kind of boisterous political demonstrations often seen in England. It was not until 1921 that she and the *Cruzada de Mujeres Españolas* took to the streets near the Cortes to solicit the vote for women.

insist that women's presence in education, the workplace, and the public realm would lead not to the depletion of the race, as conservatives feared, but rather to a population of healthier and more vigorous bodies" (155). It is, I believe, within the context of Burgos's perhaps incomplete understanding of evolution and eugenics that Ser amada, El tesoro del castillo, and El honor de la familia should be interpreted.²

In the context of Burgos's correlation of beauty with health in Ser amada and other practical manuals (Salud y Belleza, to cite one example) her appropriation of Cavalieri's beauty advice can be seen as part of a prescription for the production of bodies which would appear, at least on the exterior, to be healthier. Such women would, in turn, (re)produce similar qualities in the next generation. Along the same lines, women should be educated in La protección y la higiene de los niños so that the physical bodies of their progeny would continue to thrive, contributing to a more dynamic Spain. The importance of Dolores's healthy body and reproductive potential in El tesoro and the need for Soledad to control her (re)production in El honor are predicated, as well, on an evolutionary model of social change.

² In La mujer en España, Burgos says, "No podemos negar la teoría de Lamarck [sic]: 'La función crea el órgano'" (36). Lamarque (1744-1829), who wrote on the origin of the species in 1801, was considered outdated by Darwin (1809-1882).

Many modern readers, with a more complete understanding of evolution and an increased sensitivity to cultural as opposed to genetic characteristics, are likely to notice the deficiencies inherent in a eugenics-based model of cultural change. Felski points out that

[e]ven as feminists sought to refashion notions of history and progress for their own ends, they were influenced by the heritage that such terms brought in their wake. Thus the primarily middle-class members of the women's movement frequently presented themselves as an intellectual and political vanguard at the forefront of history. Within this scenario, women of other races and classes were often depicted as primitive and backward, yet to be awakened to the light of feminist consciousness.... Some women, it seemed, were clearly more modern than others. (149)

In 1906, a year prior to the publication of El tesoro, Burgos described the women of Andalucía in the La mujer en España speech in Rome. In it, she displays precisely the biases noted by Felski. I cite two examples:

Las andaluzas son alegres, ligeras y algo indolentes; conservan mucho de la negligencia árabe ... viven resignadas con su suerte, con una especie de fatalismo morisco y una inconsciencia de sus derechos que no las invita a la rebeldía. (10)

Los caseríos diseminados acá y allá dificultan la escuela; existe un alejamiento del mundo que hace pasar años sin ver una cara nueva; se vive de un modo primitivo, rutinario, con un corto número de ideas, aferradas a la tradición, hasta el punto de rechazar los adelantos modernos y labrar la tierra con el antiguo arado fenicio. (12)

These statements, which Burgos made early in her career, describe a pre-modern population, with the poor women of Andalucía existing in an untamed and natural state,

apparently not suited to the "light of feminist consciousness" to which Felski refers. In her description, Burgos represents them as outside of the "intellectual and political vanguard" to which she belongs. Thus, her characterization of an Andalusian woman as pre-modern in a work published the year following the speech is in keeping with her exclusion of such women from the paradigm for modernity.

Felski's hypothesis of feminism's inheritance of a "sedimented tradition of ideological usage" which tended to produce a problematic politics of exclusion illuminates one of the most troublesome aspects of Burgos's work. It makes more comprehensible the lacuna between the author's behavior and the prescriptions she often advances in the practical manuals: if the societal inheritance of religious or cultural fatalism, hunger, lack of education, or early marriage makes women unready or ineligible to enter modernity, much of the Spanish female population would be excluded from Burgos's goals.

Burgos's perception, particularly early in her career, of Spanish social circumstances causes her to marginalize her compatriots from the current of modernity, stereotyping them into an "Other" from which she excludes herself. Since she considers women's faulty preparation for marriage to be at the core of the problem, that institution is a logical location to begin much-needed reform. Thus, Burgos

prescribes a transitional model, based on improving marriage and utilizing woman's maternal role as the preparatory environment for the future. Her atypical position as a member of the intellectual vanguard justifies unique rules; there is a problematic strain of "do as I say and not as I do."

Sandra Bartky's comments on the divided consciousness of feminist victimization further illuminate Burgos's inconsistent application of feminist precepts. She writes:

The consciousness of victimization is a divided consciousness. To see myself as victim is to know that I have already sustained injury.... But at the same time, feminist consciousness is a joyous consciousness of one's own power, of the possibility of unprecedented personal growth and the release of energy long suppressed. Thus, feminist consciousness is both consciousness of weakness and consciousness of strength.

The consciousness of victimization may be a consciousness divided in a second way. The awareness I have of myself as victim may rest uneasily alongside the awareness that I am also and at the same time enormously privileged, more privileged than the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

Burgos's fictional protagonists, nonetheless, often seem to play out a tension between a pre-modern position and the modern goals which Burgos exhorted more resolutely as her career continued. Even Dolores in El tesoro expresses a desire to participate in the consumer economy, apparently willing to trade the physical pleasure of passion for that of material possessions. In the end, however, she is subsumed by the "natural" and will remain fixed in the pre-

modern where her role may be merely to provide healthy children for the future.

In El honor, Soledad's body becomes the locus of a conflict between the "natural" and the persistence of institutionalized culture. In her case the triumph of the female biological over the male-dominated "scientific" alternative signals a break with, as opposed to a return to, tradition. If maternity is the most desirable formula for woman's development, as Rodríguez suggests is Burgos's view, it is because it motivates Soledad to experience that physical pleasure of devouring space to which Burgos refers in Ser amada (138). It is important to consider, as well, that Soledad's maternity does not occur within the traditional family structure. It is produced by an unmarried relationship and will, apparently, continue without paternal representation. Indeed, Soledad's sister Herminia announces that the child belongs to the two of them (19). In Madrid, Soledad will go to a female-operated and specifically non-Christian refuge; her progeny will enter a more modern space parented only by women and free of the male-dominated cultural institutions to which she was subject. The women, unlike Soledad's aunts, are situated in the capital and will, ostensibly, not be tied to the maintenance of the antiquated concept of Spanish honor symbolized by Toledo.

Elisa, the protagonist of La Flor de la Playa, seems to have taken a more definitive step over the threshold of modernity than the two just discussed. Her apparent wish for a conventional resolution of her relationship with Enrique, nonetheless, indicates a certain inclination toward tradition. If Elisa embodies some of Burgos's psychological conflicts, as this dissertation has suggested, her ambiguity is not surprising. Indeed, Burgos's work often manifests the controversy that must have characterized her personal defiance of domestic norms. In her fiction, the domestic space differs from the utopian prototype she projects in the practical manuals; it is the site of unstable and unresolved confrontation between the traditional and the modern. Her female protagonists often incarnate the uncertainty which accompanies changing social values.

Núñez Rey writes that the primary goal of Burgos's fiction is to educate women readers in

el ansia de una vida independiente y libre, siempre lejos del agujero doméstico donde no sitúa a ninguna de sus heroínas. Suelen ser profesionales o artistas, sensibles, lúcidas y refinadas, apasionadas y sinceras al margen de toda moral convencional, dinámicas y valientes para defender su posición en el mundo y la plenitud de su existencia. Carmen inventa con ellas a la mujer de hoy (o tal vez a la de mañana)." (Flor 47)

Contrary to Núñez Rey's assertion, however, domestic issues are the locus of the dilemma of the protagonists discussed in this dissertation. Of the three, only Elisa could be considered a working woman (although not a professional),

yet Burgos does not situate her in her Madrid work environment. Instead, she constructs an alternative domestic space even more physically restrictive than a conventional one, albeit free of most domestic drudgery. Indeed it is the very size and shape of the room in "La Flor de la Playa" which magnifies Elisa's discomfort with her pseudo-marriage and directs the readers' attention toward her decision to misrepresent her experience.

Burgos's focus on women in the domestic sphere does not separate them from the modern as Núñez Rey implies to be the case. Instead, it locates the domestic at the very center of the redefinition of women's societal role and propels the private into the public. Nina Baym writes,

Another way of viewing modernism is not as something new in our century, but as the culmination of entrepreneurial, self-oriented individualism that, in the nineteenth century, was identified by many popular women writers as especially masculine.... Against such values, nineteenth-century women (at least in America) fashioned a "female" ethic--not of private, alternative musings, but of domestic responsibility and communal action apart from self. (159-160)

The dominant ideology in turn-of-the-century Spanish culture, like the nineteenth-century American one to which Baym refers, maintained an acute awareness of characteristics considered appropriately masculine or feminine. As Ledesma Hernández had warned at the beginning of Burgos's career, feminism which would equate the activities and rights of the two sexes was seen as

representing a real danger to the Spanish way of life. This dissertation has shown that Burgos frequently expresses an awareness of the precarious position she occupied vis à vis the domestic ideology. Consistently employing the discourse of a female ethic, never overtly renouncing women's domestic responsibility, Burgos avoids the appearance of the kind of "promiscuous feminism" of which Ledesma Hernández had written. Yet the three novellas scrutinized in this dissertation show that the domestic sphere is not the privileged location which the culturally dominant "ángel del hogar" stereotype would indicate. It is the center of women's struggle for a modern identity; moreover, it is the location where cultural change must begin and from which it will eventually radiate into Spanish culture.

Examining Burgos's writing in an economic and cultural context, this dissertation elucidates how her authorship often responded to her circumstances. It casts new light on her prescriptive manuals for women, locating them earlier in her career and reducing their magnitude relative to her corpus. Moreover, my analysis of one such manual, El arte de Quiere V. ser amada, reveals the technique of "writing with scissors" which Burgos seems to have employed regularly, in fictional as well as nonfictional works, as a solution to the pressure for constant and rapid production.

Furthermore, considering some of Burgos's fictional as well as nonfictional statements on domestic issues, it shows

that Burgos does not uphold love, marriage, and maternity as women's paramount fulfillment. Instead, such institutions are presented as troubled sites in which women experience conflict between the conventional and the modern.

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Lynn Thomson Scott was born on Long Island, NY, and graduated from Vassar College with a B.A. in art history. Before beginning graduate studies at the University of Florida, she worked in college textbook publishing in New York and taught Spanish at the elementary and high school levels in Houston, TX, and Gainesville, FL. She has spent extensive periods in Madrid, Spain, as well as Mexico City and Jalapa, Veracruz, Mexico and Santafé de Bogotá, Colombia.

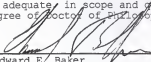
After earning the M.A. in Spanish and Latin American literature, Ms. Scott continued in the doctoral program in Peninsular literature at the University of Florida where she was awarded the Tybel Spivack Scholarship for Women's Studies. While pursuing the graduate degrees, she taught beginning and intermediate Spanish language, a foreign language across curriculum course in Precolumbian art, and the culture and civilization of Spain. In addition to Hispanic studies, she specializes in women's studies.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Geraldine Cleary Nichols, Chairperson
Professor of Romance Languages and
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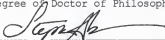
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